

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

MEMORIAL OF THE PHILIPPINE MISSION, ASKING THAT IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE BE GRANTED THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Filipino people respectfully submit the following propositions:

1. That as defined and established in the act of Congress of August 29, 1916, the purpose of the Government of the United States is to withdraw its sovereignty over the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established therein.

2. That in accordance with the terms and provisions of said law the people of the Philippines have organized a government that has been in operation for nearly three years and which has offered complete evidence that conditions are ripe for the establishment of an independent government that will be fully capable of maintaining law and order, administer justice, promote the welfare of all the inhabitants of the islands, and discharge as well its international obligations.

3. That the Filipino people desire their independence at this time, and along with that independence they confidently hope to preserve the bonds of good understanding and friendship which bind them to the United States, and to foster the free development of commercial relations between the two countries.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JAIME C. DE VEYRA

OF THE PHILIPPINES

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11, 1919

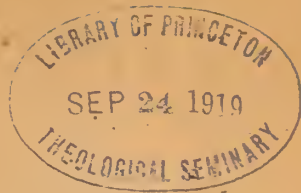


WASHINGTON

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REMARKS
OF
HON. JAIME C. DE VEYRA.

Mr. DE VEYRA. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a memorial of the Philippine Mission addressed to the Congress of the United States.

The memorial is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, members of the Philippine mission, pursuant to the instructions received from the Philippine Legislature and in accordance with the wishes of the Filipino people, beg to submit hereby to the Congress of the United States of America a formal petition that the independence of the Philippine Islands be granted at this time.

It is confidently hoped and believed that the Congress will not suffer this opportunity to pass by at a time when the whole world is so anxious to see international relations established upon newer and more solid foundations of universal justice and liberty.

America has constituted herself and has justly been recognized as the champion of the rights of humanity in the last World War, and due in a great measure to her heroic efforts and generous aid mankind has been saved from the thralldom of greed and oppression, and the rights of small and weaker nations to exist side by side with the great powers vindicated.

The recognition of the independence of the Philippines at this time will constitute an object lesson to the whole world in respect of the lofty and altruistic aims which have prompted America to take part in the great war, for it will furnish a practical application of her doctrine of self-determination.

For the first time in the history of colonial relations a subject and alien race comes to ask the severance of their political connection with the sovereign nation without recounting any act of injustice, but rather with a feeling of gratitude and affection. Our plea for independence is based not on the injustice which might be found in the forcible subjection of the Filipinos, but on the justice of our claim that the national sovereignty of our people be fully recognized, in order that we may freely fulfill our own mission and contribute to the spread and establishment of democracy and Christian institutions in the Far East.

With this end in view, we respectfully submit the following propositions:

1. That as defined and established in the act of Congress of August 29, 1916, the purpose of the Government of the United States is to withdraw its sovereignty over the

Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established therein.

2. That in accordance with the terms and provisions of said law the people of the Philippines have organized a government that has been in operation for nearly three years and which has offered complete evidence that conditions are ripe for the establishment of an independent government that will be fully capable of maintaining law and order, administer justice, promote the welfare of all the inhabitants of the islands, and discharge as well its international obligations.

3. That the Filipino people desire their independence at this time, and along with that independence they confidently hope to preserve the bonds of good understanding and friendship which bind them to the United States, and to foster the free development of commercial relations between the two countries.

I.

AMERICA'S PHILIPPINE POLICY HAS BEEN CONSISTENT.

The act of Congress of August 29, 1916, entitled "An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands," said in its preamble:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence, etc.

The statements contained in the above preamble have had the effect of ratifying and giving concrete form to the declarations which, ever since the advent of American sovereignty in the Philippines up to the enactment of said law, the Presidents of the United States and their representatives have been making concerning America's aim and policy in the islands.

President McKinley, at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, said:

Forcible annexation can not be thought of; that, according to the American code of morals, is criminal aggression.

In President McKinley's instructions to the first Philippine Commission, on the 20th of January, 1899, he expressed the hope that these commissioners would be received as bearers of "the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering Nation."

In his message to Congress in the same year, among other things concerning the Philippines, he said:

We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade

and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance.

And again he said:

The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us.

Upon another occasion he said:

We accepted the Philippines from high duty in the interest of their inhabitants, and for humanity and civilization. Our sacrifices were with this high motive. We want to improve the condition of the inhabitants, securing them peace, liberty, and the pursuit of their highest good.

In his message to Congress in the following year he said:

The fortune of war has thrown upon this Nation an unsought trust which should be unselfishly discharged, and devolved upon this Government a moral as well as material responsibility toward those millions whom we have freed from an oppressive yoke.

I have on another occasion called the Filipinos "the wards of the Nation." Our obligation as guardian was not lightly assumed; it must not be otherwise than honestly fulfilled, aiming, first of all, to benefit those who have come under our fostering care. It is our duty so to treat them that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon and the fertile zones of Mindanao and Negros than it is at home; that there, as here, it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment, and progress in every avenue of development.

The Filipinos are a race quick to learn and to profit by knowledge.

In his instructions to the second Philippine commission he made the following observations:

In all the forms of Government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the Government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands.

President Taft, while Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, on the 17th of December, 1903, said:

From the beginning to the end of the State papers which were circulated in these islands as authoritative expressions of the Executive, the motto that "the Philippines are for the Filipinos," and that the Government of the United States is here for the purpose of preserving the "Philippines for the Filipinos" for their benefit, for their elevation, for their civilization, again and again and again appear.

And upon the same occasion, and in response to a particularly vicious newspaper attack which was then being made upon him by the American papers published in the islands, he said:

Some of our young lions of the local press have spoken of the "childish slogan," "The Philippines for the Filipinos." It is unnecessary to comment on the adjective used, but it is sufficient to say that, whether childish or not, the principle makes up the web and woof of the policy of the United States with respect to these islands, as it has been authoritatively declared by two Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt has followed sedulously the policy of President McKinley—and by the interpretation of the supreme popular will, the Congress of the United States.

He points out that the actions of the President, as well as his instructions, have been expressly approved and ratified by an act of Congress.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress of December 6, 1904, said:

We are endeavoring to develop the natives themselves so that they shall take an ever-increasing share in their own government, and as far as is prudent we are already admitting their representatives to a governmental equality with our own. * * * If they show that they are capable of electing a legislature which in its turn is capable of taking

a sane and efficient part in the actual work of government, they can rest assured that a full and increasing measure of recognition will be given them.

And in 1906 he said:

We are constantly increasing the measure of liberty accorded the islanders, and next spring, if conditions warrant, we shall take a great stride forward in testing their capacity for self-government by summoning the first Filipino legislative assembly; and the way in which they stand this test will largely determine whether the self-government thus granted will be increased or decreased; for if we have erred at all in the Philippines it has been in proceeding too rapidly in the direction of granting a large measure of self-government.

When Mr. Taft was Secretary of War, in the course of a special report upon the Philippines, he said:

When they have learned the principles of successful popular self-government from a gradually enlarged experience therein we can discuss the question whether independence is what they desire and grant it or whether they prefer the retention of a closer association with the country which, by its guidance, has unselfishly led them on to better conditions.

In a special report made by Secretary Taft on the Philippines and their political future, with special reference to the policy which had been pursued there, he said:

The conditions in the islands to-day vindicate and justify that policy. It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands, although, of course, if both the United States and the islands were to continue a governmental relation between them like that between England and Australia, there would be nothing inconsistent with the present policy in such a result.

Further on he says:

Thus far the policy of the Philippines has worked. It has been attacked on the ground that we have gone too fast, that we have given the natives too much power. The meeting of the assembly and the conservative tone of that body thus far disclosed makes for our view rather than that of our opponents.

In 1908, after the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, President Roosevelt in his message to Congress said:

Real progress toward self-government is being made in the Philippine Islands.

And in referring to the Philippine Assembly, he said:

Hitherto this Philippine Legislature has acted with moderation and self-restraint, and has seemed in practical fashion to realize the eternal truth that there must always be government, and that the only way in which any body of individuals can escape the necessity of being governed by outsiders is to show that they are able to restrain themselves, to keep down wrongdoing and disorder. The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation.

In a special message to Congress on January 27, 1908, transmitting a special report made by Secretary Taft on the Philippines, he said:

But no great civilized power has ever managed with such wisdom and disinterestedness the affairs of a people committed by the accident of war to its hands. Save only our attitude toward Cuba, I question whether there is a brighter page in the annals of international dealings between the strong and the weak than the page which tells of our doings in the Philippines.

Further on he says:

The islanders have made real advances in a hopeful direction, and they have opened well with the new Philippine Assembly; they have yet a long way to travel before they will be fit for complete self-government, and for deciding, as it will then be their duty to do, whether this self-government shall be accompanied by complete independence.

Former Governor General James F. Smith, in an article entitled "The Philippines as I saw them," published in the *Sunset Magazine* of December, 1911, said:

The holding of the Philippines, not for selfish exploitation but as a sacred trust for the benefit of those residing in them, the establishment of a government, not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Filipino people, the evolution of a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos, into a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans, and the education and preparation of the people for popular self-government was the broad policy of President McKinley, of President Roosevelt, of Governor Taft, of Governor General Wright, of Governor General Ide, and of all their successors. It is the policy to-day, and its continuance will, I believe, bring the Filipino race happy and contented to the realization of its hopes and ideal rarely attained, rarely enjoyed, save through blood and tears.

After Secretary Taft was elected President, in a message to Congress, delivered on December 6, 1912, he said:

We should * * * endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence.

Secretary Stimson, in his annual report of 1912, said:

The policy of the United States was definitely and materially declared in the instructions of President McKinley to the Philippine Commission of April 7, 1900, and it has never been departed from since. It is contained in every step of the consistent progress of our insular government. President McKinley's statement was expressly and affirmatively confirmed by the Congress of the United States in the organic act for the Philippine Government of July 1, 1902. Briefly, this policy may be expressed as having for its sole object the preparation of the Philippine people for popular self-government in their own interest and in the interest of the United States * * *.

The postponement of the question of independence for the islands has been deliberately made, not for promoting our interests, but solely in order to enable that momentous question to be determined intelligently by the Philippine people in the light of their own highest interest.

On the 1st of March, 1913, President Taft adverted to the Democratic platform with reference to the Philippines and quoted that portion of it which referred to the purpose of the United States to "recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, and said that this was "an affirmation of policy only slightly differing from that repeatedly announced by this and preceding Republican administrations."

Governor General W. Cameron Forbes, in his farewell speech before leaving the islands, made the statement "that the platforms of both parties reached the same general conclusion in regard to the granting of independence when a stable government should be established." He subsequently, in a published speech in this country, corrected this statement to the extent of substituting the word "policies" for the word "platforms."

Upon the present administration coming into authority here, the President authorized Governor General Harrison, in his opening address, to make the following statement:

We regard ourselves as trustees, acting, not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence, and we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next. The administration will take one step at once, and it will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the appointive commission, and thus in the upper as well as in the lower house of the legislature a majority representation will be

secured to them. We do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will be given in the action of the commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and to lead their people in affairs.

President Wilson, in his message to Congress delivered on December 2, 1913, said:

* * * Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines are ours, indeed, but not ours to do what we please with. Such territories, once regarded as mere possessions, are no longer to be selfishly exploited; they are part of the domain of public conscience and of serviceable and enlightened statesmanship. We must administer them for the people who live in them and with the same sense of responsibility to them as toward our own people in our domestic affairs. No doubt we shall successfully enough bind Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands to ourselves by ties of justice and interest and affection, but the performance of our duty toward the Philippines is a more difficult and debatable matter. We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own Territories and our obligations toward the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid.

Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have already accorded the people of the islands a majority in both houses of their legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the commission. I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; so that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their control. At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino people. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and confident tread upon it and we shall not wander from it nor linger upon it.

In another message to Congress, delivered on December 8, 1914, he said:

There is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate: I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. How better, in this time of anxious questioning and perplexed policy, could we show our confidence in the principles of liberty as the source as well as the expression of life, how better could we demonstrate our own self-possession and steadfastness in the courses of justice and disinterestedness than by thus going calmly forward to fulfill our promises to a dependent people, who will now look more anxiously than ever to see whether we have indeed the liberality, the unselfishness, the courage, the faith we have boasted and professed. I can not believe that the Senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another Congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable labor.

And in his message to Congress delivered on December 7, 1915, he said:

There is another matter which seems to me to be very intimately associated with the question of national safety and preparation for defense. That is our policy toward the Philippines and the people of Porto Rico. Our treatment of them and their attitude toward us are manifestly of the first consequence in the development of our duties in the world and in getting a free hand to perform those duties. We must be free from every unnecessary burden or embarrassment, and there

is no better way to be clear of embarrassment than to fulfill our promises and promote the interests of those dependent on us to the utmost. Bills for the alteration and reform of the government of the Philippines and for rendering fuller political justice to the people of Porto Rico were submitted to the Sixty-third Congress. They will be submitted also to you. I need not particularize their details. You are most of you already familiar with them. But I do recommend them to your early adoption with the sincere conviction that there are few measures you could adopt which would more serviceably clear the way for the great policies by which we wish to make good, now and always, our right to lead in enterprises of peace and good will and economic and political freedom.

In the January, 1915, number of Everybody's Magazine ex-President Roosevelt indorsed this contention, and said:

If we act so that the natives understand us to have made a definite promise, then we should live up to that promise. The Philippines, from a military standpoint, are a source of weakness to us. The present administration has promised explicitly to let them go, and by its action has rendered it difficult to hold them against any serious foreign foe. These being the circumstances, the islands should at an early moment be given their independence, without any guaranty whatever by us and without our retaining any foothold in them.

As stated at the outset, all of the preceding statements were finally adopted or ratified by the Congress by the passage on August 29, 1916, of the law generally known as the Jones law.

In view of the documents above quoted, of the official statements made by the constitutional representatives of the American people, and of the steps taken in accordance with those statements, the policy of the United States in the Philippines appears to be clearly defined, namely, that it has never been nor is it the purpose of the United States to retain possession of the Philippine Islands for exploitation and self-aggrandizement, but rather for the welfare, education, and liberty of their inhabitants; that the government therein established is designed not for the satisfaction or for the expression of the theoretical views of the American people, but the training of the Filipinos in the science of self-government by means of gradual participation in the administration of their own affairs; that when the Filipinos shall have learned the principles of popular self-government, then it is for them to decide whether they should be independent or remain under the sovereignty of the United States; and, finally, that it is the purpose of the Government of the United States to grant the Filipinos their complete independence as soon as a stable government can be established in the islands.

As has been indicated, President McKinley originally outlined this policy, which Mr. Taft so happily summed up in his immortal phrase, "the Philippines for the Filipinos." Such a policy has been faithfully observed by his successors in office and carried on by the present administration to such an extent that the Filipinos have been afforded an opportunity to show that they are in fact able to exercise the duties and powers of a popular, complete self-government.

In view of the foregoing considerations there remains nothing to be determined, in accordance with the avowed policy of the United States above adverted to, but the following points:

1. Whether the Filipinos have met the requirements prescribed in the act of Congress of August 29, 1916; that is to say, whether they have shown that they are sufficiently prepared to establish an independent, stable government.

2. Whether the Filipinos prefer independence to any other political status or condition.

II.

THERE EXISTS A STABLE GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

This chapter is devoted to an account of the work done by the Filipinos ever since they have been allowed to take an active part in the affairs of their government, and particularly after the establishment of the autonomous government authorized by the Jones law, with a view of showing that conditions in the islands are ripe for the establishment of a stable, independent government.

For a better understanding of the subject, it will be necessary to divide this chapter into various sections and to limit ourselves to the treatment of those fundamental elements which constitute the foundation of a popular self-government and insure its stability and development.

REORGANIZATION OF THE INSULAR GOVERNMENT.

The enactment of the Jones law, in so far as it gave the Filipinos a greater autonomy in the administration of their public affairs, has put to a test the degree of political training acquired by the Filipinos under American methods as well as their ability in the organization of an efficient national government. From a study of the manner in which the Filipinos effected the reorganization of the insular government previously existing, the principles followed by them, the difficulties which they had to overcome, and the results aimed at and attained by such reorganization, we may form an adequate judgment as to whether they possess or not the required capacity for independence.

This was not the first time in which the Filipinos attempted the establishment of a national government. They have had experience along that line when the revolutionary congress at Malolos drafted a constitution for the short-lived Philippine Republic under the leadership of Aguinaldo and proceeded to establish a government in accordance with the terms of that constitution. We find, however, this difference: Whereas at that time they had complete freedom of action and could adopt a model which seemed to them most satisfactory, in the reorganization of the insular government their action was circumscribed by the fundamental rules prescribed by the Jones law. This law is, in fact, a constitution granted by an alien people for the government of another of different race and with different civilization, inhabiting a territory 10,000 miles away. Notwithstanding the difficulties which thus obtained and the restrictions to which they were subjected, the Filipinos faced the task with courage, and reorganized the central government in such a way that it resulted, not in a mere copy of the presidential form of government of the United States but in a system more in harmony with the tendencies and reforms advocated by eminent American authorities on constitutional systems.

Under the system adopted by the Filipinos, the members of the cabinet are responsible for their official conduct, not only to the Governor General but also to the Philippine Legislature.

The reorganization act provides that the secretaries of department may be called upon by any of the two houses of the

legislature concerning any matter affecting their respective departments, and they are legally bound to appear before such houses for the purpose of giving such information as may be required of them whenever the nature of the matter permits it and the Governor General consents thereto. They are also entitled to be heard by either of the two houses of the legislature for the purpose of reporting on matters pertaining to their departments. In this manner it was made possible not only to impose upon the members of the executive department a certain degree of responsibility to the popular branch of the government and, indirectly, to the people; but also a greater harmony was thereby established between those two branches of the government. In this manner also the Governor General, who is an American, and is the person authorized by law to appoint the members of the cabinet and other higher officers of the government, finds it necessary to consult the representatives of the people with regard to the appointments made by him. The consent of the senate, therefore, is a real check to any arbitrary act of the executive.

In order to insure better harmony between the executive and the legislative departments of the government, there has also been created a body known as the council of state, the duties of which are to aid and advise the governor general on public matters. This body is composed of the governor general, the presidents of both houses of the legislature, the members of the cabinet, and such other members as the governor general may appoint. The constitution of the council of state promises to solve the problem of responsible leadership in our government. It may not only avoid violent conflicts which might occur between the executive and the legislative branches of the government, but it also enables the people to fix the responsibility for the conduct and administration of public affairs. The council of state has also the advantage of permitting the governor general to look to it for counsel concerning local and international matters of vital importance to the country. There can be no question as to the usefulness of the council of state, and the rôle which it plays in matters concerning the government gives to the latter that unity of action which is at once harmonious, effective, and responsible—an element so necessary and essential to the regular and orderly course of public affairs.

Among the reforms made by the legislature after the passage of the Jones law was the adoption of a budget system in the financial operations of the government. The adoption of this system has cured the deficiencies arising out of a lack of a systematic plan in the expenditure of public funds. Under the former system, which was quite analogous to the one still obtaining in the United States, there was no fixed responsibility for the preparation and submission of appropriation bills. Each bureau of the government prepared its estimates and sent the same to the legislature through the executive secretary. The executive secretary had neither the power of revision nor of coordination, but his task was confined to the compilation of all the estimates, and to the transmission of the same in their original form to the legislature. Under such a system each bureau, without taking into account the needs of the other bureaus, merely tried to ask for and obtain the most it could

possibly obtain, and its success or lack of success in this respect depended on whether or not it had the sympathy of, or could exercise a greater or less influence on, the members of the legislature. The result of this system was a costly bureaucracy and an unnecessary duplication in the work and activities of the government. All of these deficiencies were cured by the introduction of the budget system, and its results have more than justified its adoption.

The secretary of finance is charged with the duty of preparing the budget after the estimates have been approved by the different secretaries of department. The budget is then submitted to the cabinet for discussion and adoption, and once approved it is ordered printed and then submitted to the legislature for its action. Under this system it is not only possible to know and carry out a systematic plan in the expenditure of public funds, but effective and united action on the part of the cabinet is also insured. The expenses of the different departments are coordinated and simplified and a proper distribution of appropriations among them is effected. Through this system the public enjoys the unusual advantage of knowing in whole and in detail the different purposes to which the money which they pay in taxes and imposts is devoted. In practice the system has resulted in materially reducing the number of appropriation bills for each year, which, in 1916, when the former system was in vogue, amounted to 37 laws.

It is generally admitted that the adoption of the budget system marks a decided improvement over the old system and is considered as one of the greatest achievements of the Filipino people. It has placed the Philippines, to use the words of Governor General Harrison, "among the foremost progressive nations in fiscal legislation."

The speaker of the house of representatives, Hon. Sergio Osmena, has clearly explained the scope and object of the reorganization of the insular government in the following terms:

This legislature, the first organized under the auspices of the new law and inaugurated on October 16, 1916, is imbued jointly with the new impulses of liberty and democracy, with the highest sense of order and responsibility. Thus it has respected established institutions and retained government practice in so far as compatible with the changes necessary. It has equally shunned the influence of unsafe reforms adopted in a foolhardy manner and the puerile timidity that hinders all constructive work, and the country has assumed the plenitude of the powers recognized by law. The examination of the structure of the government authorized by the Jones act has been calm and minute. It has been compared with that of the governments of other countries. Entering without hesitancy upon the vast field of theory and practice of the best governments of the world, the Filipino Nation has had an opportunity to make new use of its old maturity of judgment, of its acknowledged self-control, adjusting the flights of its mind anxious of innovations to the constitutional limitations and the real needs of our own life and conditions.

One of the points brought up concerned the relations of the executive to the legislature. The scope of these relations under the presidential régime and of those generally found under the parliamentary system has been investigated.

Neither of these two systems has been adopted definitely; but though recognizing that the organic law retains certain notable features of the presidential régime, the Filipinos have not given up the idea of improving and perfecting the system implanted by the law referred to. Within the bounds of the existing constitutional limitations certain touches have been given to our political institutions which give them a character all their own.

In the first place, the executive departments have been reorganized. In lieu of the system of indefinite tenure of the departmental officers

formerly in vogue, the theory of periodical changes has been adopted. Every three years the atmosphere of the executive department is to be renewed at the same time when the personnel of the legislature changes in accordance with the results of the last general election. And once the democratic influence of the government is thus assured, the legislature throws its doors open to the department secretaries who, instead of privately going to the office of the various committees, may if they so prefer demand the right to be heard publicly in the session hall of either house.

This first step has not been taken without a conscientious consideration of the basic principles of the American Government system upon which the United States Congress has modeled ours. Ostensibly the Philippine Legislature, which has approved the departmental reorganization law, has started out with the purpose of coordinating and harmonizing the powers of the State, instead of separating and scattering them.

In speaking of the budget system, he further says:

It inaugurates a régime of publicity and places each power of the State within its own sphere of responsibility. It puts the finances of the government on an approved commercial basis and joins the direct examination of the necessities of the country with the authority and duty to disburse the public funds in an economic and efficient manner. It makes the department heads more responsible to the legislature and the people. It frustrates any attempt to establish a vicious kind of legislation not demanded by public interest known elsewhere as log-rolling and pork barrel. It maintains the legislature in a sphere of dignity and control, while it stays the hand of an arbitrary chief executive ready to make improper use of the veto power. But what is more important than all this, it preserves fresh and pure the constitutional intelligence between the several powers of the State and between the government and the people; it prevents the useless expenditure of energy by disagreement and friction, preserves stability, and prepares the organs of the government to be constantly ready for orderly, prompt, and efficient action.

THE PROGRESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

The municipal and provincial governments, constituting as they do political units of the Philippine Government, furnish positive proofs of the political capacity of the Filipino people, inasmuch as these governments, the success of which is manifest, are controlled by Filipinos. From the beginning it was deemed advisable to place the management of municipal affairs in the hands of officials chosen by the people of the municipalities concerned. The growing notable success of local governments has made imperative the adoption of all measures which safeguard and increase the autonomy exercised by such governments. Provincial officers, which were originally appointive, were made elective. The provincial board, which constitutes the legislative body of the Province, was formerly composed of an elective provincial governor, an appointive provincial treasurer, and an elective third member. By virtue of act No. 2501 of the Philippine Legislature, approved February 5, 1915, the provincial treasurer ceased to be a member of the provincial board, and the Governor General was authorized to appoint a new member from among the municipal presidents in the Province. Inasmuch as municipal presidents are elected by popular vote, it is clear that the object of this law was to grant greater autonomy to provincial governments by eliminating from the provincial board the only nonelective member. Act No. 2586 of the Philippine Legislature, approved February, 1916, went even further in the extension of popular control over provincial governments by providing that the appointive members of the provincial board shall be elected by popular vote. These liberal reforms have reached not only the regularly organized Provinces,

but also the few so-called special Provinces. In 1915 the office of the third member of the provincial boards of Mindoro, Palawan, and Batanes was made elective, and in 1916 the office of the provincial governor of Mindoro was likewise made elective. This year a law was passed by the Philippine Legislature making elective the office of the provincial governor of Palawan.

Inasmuch as all of the important offices of the municipal and provincial governments are elective, and the higher and direct supervision of the same is wholly intrusted to Filipino officials, the orderly and progressive march of such governments constitutes a practical demonstration of the capacity and efficiency of the government established by the Filipino people in accordance with the Jones law.

At the present time all of the provincial governors, who are the chief executives of the Provinces, are Filipinos, except the governors of the Provinces of Cotabato, Lanao, and Sulu, in the department of Mindanao and Sulu. Of the 46 provincial treasurers, who are the chief financial officers, 38 are Filipinos, and only 1 is American. There are 30 Filipino district engineers and 13 Americans. In the municipalities, with the exception of 16 American ex-officio justices of the peace, the local administration of justice is entirely intrusted to the Filipinos. The supervision and control over the Provinces and municipalities formerly exercised by the Governor General, through the executive secretary, has now passed to the secretary of the interior, who acts in that respect through the chief of the executive bureau. Both officers are Filipinos.

In order to promote the free and ample exercise of local autonomy, the secretary of the interior and the executive bureau have adopted the policy of not interfering with the affairs of local governments, except in cases where such intervention is made absolutely necessary.

Nor has progress been made along political lines alone; but Provinces and municipalities also have improved economically. In 1913 the revenues of the municipalities, towns, and settlements amounted to 7,152,541 pesos; in 1917 these revenues went up to 11,401,983 pesos. In 1913 the total expenses of operation of all municipalities, towns, and settlements aggregated 5,869,454 pesos, while in 1917 the amount totaled 8,696,535 pesos.

As the result of the great progress attained by the municipalities along political and economic lines, there have been constructed great public improvements, such as roads, provincial and municipal buildings, school buildings, bridges, and so forth. The Provinces and municipalities have also effectively contributed to the organization of a system of provincial and municipal sanitation, the construction of wharves, docks, piers, artesian wells, parks, monuments, and so forth.

PUBLIC LAW AND ORDER.

The first natural requisite of every well-organized political society is the maintenance of public law and order. Ever since the establishment of the Philippine Assembly the general condition of order and peace throughout the Philippines has continually been improving to the extent that it can now be safely stated that the Philippines is one of those countries of the world where life and liberty are enjoyed with the greatest

order and safety. By temperament the Filipino people are peaceful and abhor tumult and disorder.

Perfect order and peace prevail throughout the Archipelago, including the Territory of Mindanao and Sulu. The maintenance of public order in territories inhabited by Moros has always been a problem of grave concern to many. When for the first time an attempt was made to place a person from civil life at the head of the government of Mindanao and Sulu it was believed that public order would be endangered. No disturbance has, however, occurred, and the normal life of the inhabitants was not altered. Moros and Christians came into a more friendly union than ever before and realized better than at any other time the ties which united them as countrymen. Thanks to this good understanding, it was possible and easy to withdraw the American troops in 1917, when the United States found it necessary to take part in the Great War. American soldiers were replaced by Filipino soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary, the latter even less in number, without producing the least disorder.

Col. Ole Woloe, chief of constabulary of the department of Mindanao and Sulu, in a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of the Interior under date of November 23, 1918, says, among other things:

For the last four years the number of grave crimes occurring in the Province of Zamboanga have been less than those in the department's most advanced Christian Province for the same period.

For the years 1908-9, 37 outlaws were reported killed, captured, and wounded; for 1910-11, 28; for 1912-13, 40; for 1914, 23; for 1915, 1; and for 1916-17, none. This great change from a spirit of outlawry and piracy, coming down from the Spanish régime, to peace and industry was brought about almost entirely by the sympathetic attitude and friendly interest of the department government toward the Moros and Pagan tribes of the Province. Force without limit had been used for 300 years, but apparently with little, if any, permanent results.

The Moro is no more the blood-thirsty, religious fanatic of a few years ago, but is aiding us to a remarkable degree in maintaining law and order. In fact, our success in dealing with Moro outlaws has been due almost entirely to the loyal support and aid we have received from the great majority of the inhabitants of the districts affected. The Moro is industrious and a good farmer to the extent of his agricultural knowledge. He is beginning to see the advantages of education, to have respect for his Christian brother, and be more tolerant in his religious views. He is, however, proud of his history and loyal to his religion, but commerce and education are rapidly widening his horizon.

Contrary to the prediction of the calamity howlers, the Christian Filipino officers of the constabulary have succeeded completely in winning the respect and confidence of the Moro.

This testimony of an American officer is an eloquent proof of the success of our policy with regard to the non-Christian tribes.

As to the rest of the islands an even more perfect peace prevails. When we bear in mind that the world was in a state of war and what an auspicious occasion such a condition offers to agitations of all kinds, the fact that peace and order remained undisturbed in the islands is certainly indicative of the peaceful and loyal spirit of the Filipino people.

The Filipinos did not only place all their modest energies and resources at the service of America, but with the spirit of a real and active community of ideals and interests they resolutely assumed the international responsibilities of that Nation in the Philippines. It may not be out of place to state here that the American flag during all that period of world crisis and commotion waived peacefully over the Philippines, not because it was

supported by a military power, for that was withdrawn, but because of the loyal and vigilant attitude of the Filipinos. No longer is any band of outlaws found in any part of the Archipelago. Neither is it easy for such a band to organize without being detected by the Philippine constabulary and immediately suppressed. The development of agriculture and commerce will naturally induce every citizen to devote himself to a legitimate occupation, instead of indulging in the dangerous pursuits of outlawry and pillage.

From the experience of these years and the naturally orderly and peaceful temperament of the Filipinos everything points to the belief that the maintenance of public order will be insured in the Philippines and that a change of sovereignty will even more firmly impress on the minds of the Filipino the necessity for such an orderly existence.

EDUCATION.

From the beginning of American occupation of the islands the question of popular education has commanded special attention. It was not, however, until after the establishment of the Philippine Assembly that education received the greatest impulse and development, for the first law approved by the assembly was one appropriating the sum of ₱1,000,000 for school buildings in the different barrios, while the law authorizing the establishment of the University of the Philippines was among the first to be enacted.

The policy of aiding and promoting by all possible means the education of every citizen has been constantly adhered to ever since that time, and now there is hardly a barrio of any importance having a sufficient number of school children but has a primary school. Liberal appropriations have always been made for the bureau of education and the University of the Philippines.

It remained, however, for the present legislature, composed of two elective houses, to finally solve and satisfactorily settle the question of giving primary education to all children of school age, a question which for many years had been pending of solution. On December 8, 1918, a law was passed appropriating the sum of ₱30,000,000, in addition to the regular annual appropriations for the bureau of education, in order that within the period of five years the plan of giving free primary education to all citizens of the Philippine Islands of school age could be carried out.

From 1912 to 1918 the total number of children in the schools increased from 440,000 to 675,000, an increase of 54 per cent. The number of schools was 3,000 in 1912 and increased to 4,700 in 1918. During the same period the number of pupils in the intermediate schools went up to 67,000, an increase of 160 per cent. The number of high-school students came up to 16,000, an increase of 220 per cent. Voluntary contributions for the maintenance of schools and salary of teachers in those municipalities having insufficient funds for the purpose have increased from ₱198,000 in 1912 to ₱468,000 in 1917.

Such an improvement in the system of popular education, both as to quantity and quality, came hand in hand with the assumption of greater responsibilities by the Filipinos. From the beginning the Filipino teachers have had charge of primary

education, and they now constitute 98 per cent of the teaching force in the intermediate schools and 44 per cent of the teaching force in the secondary schools. They have also been given access to higher administrative positions. Of the 350 supervising teachers 86 per cent are Filipinos and the majority of the academic and industrial supervisors are also Filipinos. There are six Filipino division superintendents of schools, and both the second assistant director of education and the undersecretary of public instruction are Filipinos.

The University of the Philippines has kept abreast with the spirit and development of our public system. It was opened in 1908 with but four colleges, namely, the colleges of agriculture, veterinary science, law, and the school of fine arts. Later the School of Medicine of the Government, which was previously established, became a part of the university. Then came the establishment of the colleges of liberal arts, engineering, pharmacy, and education. The plan of study followed by the university is of the most modern and may be favorably compared with that of the best universities of the world.

The following table of enrollment of students in the university shows clearly the rapid growth of that institution:

Year:	Number of students.
1911-12-----	1,400
1912-13-----	1,398
1913-14-----	1,503
1914-15-----	2,075
1915-16-----	2,401
1916-17-----	2,975
1917-18-----	2,871
1918-19-----	3,081

The spirit which has guided the Filipinos in the adoption of all manner of measures for the education of the masses of people is sufficiently indicative of the fact that the Filipinos fully realize that popular education is the real basis of all democratic governments. They are determined by all means not only to maintain the present school system but also to develop it to the highest possible degree in order that the people may exert the power of an intelligent public opinion in the running of the affairs of their government.

There are positive proofs to warrant the belief that the question of popular education will be adequately safeguarded under a Philippine independent government. The people themselves are clamoring for education and there is no need of compulsory education laws, with the possible exception in the case of primitive communities of non-Christian tribes. The University of the Philippines has already trained a nucleus of sufficient number of young men in the different branches of learning, many of whom are now holding responsible positions in public administration.

In this connection it may not be amiss to advert to the policy adopted by the government several years ago, and ever since followed, of sending young men, graduates of the University of the Philippines and other educational institutions in the islands, to the different centers of learning in America, Europe, and other foreign countries, for the purpose of furthering their studies and thereafter serve the government for the same number of years in which they have enjoyed government scholarship. This policy has been recently extended to those employees of government

offices who have demonstrated unusual talent and efficiency in the performance of their official duties, thus enabling them to make a special study in connection with their respective work.

It is thus seen that the Government has spared neither efforts nor money in the preparation of a competent personnel to take the place of the American experts who are leaving the public service. It is hoped that in this way it will be possible not only to maintain but to lift up, if possible, the high standards of public service in the country.

SANITATION.

The sanitation of the islands has been greatly improved. In 1914 the Philippine Legislature reorganized the health service in order to insure greater efficiency and the cooperation of the Provinces and municipalities in matters of public health.

Under the old system the salaries of municipal health officers were paid by the municipalities, and only those which could afford to pay obtained the services of physicians. Such as could not afford to pay employed sanitary inspectors, who frequently did not have medical knowledge. Thus many towns were without the services of a qualified physician. Again, under that system there were no differences of rank in the service and health officers remained in the service without any chance of promotion. There was no law compelling the municipalities to devote a part of their funds to sanitation. For these reasons it was deemed necessary to reorganize the old bureau of health and convert it into the Philippine Health Service.

This service is somewhat similar to the Public Health Service of the United States, in that a physician must pass an examination before being appointed to the service, and after a certain number of years he is given another examination for the purpose of promotion. The positions in the service are graded. A physician who starts as assistant surgeon is promoted, first, to the grade of junior surgeon, then to that of senior surgeon, medical inspector, and chief of division. The work of the central office is distributed among the director of the health service and the chiefs of divisions. There is an assistant director, who is at the same time a chief of division. There are three divisions—one for the provincial service, another for the hospital service, and still another for the health service of the city of Manila.

In order that each and every municipality may have the benefit of the services of a physician, the different Provinces combine two or more small municipalities and place them under the care of a municipal physician. These groups of municipalities are called sanitary districts. The municipal physician is required to distribute his time among the different towns in making inspection and receiving consultations; but even with such an arrangement some of the most remote places in the Mountain and Moro Provinces could not have obtained the service of a physician if, in order to supply this deficiency, dispensaries were not opened under the care of competent persons, where the public may obtain medicine and receive medical treatment. At the present time even the most remote places have health facilities which they could not obtain 10 years ago.

Manila may be said to be the most sanitary city in the Far East and will bear comparison with many of the cities of the United States and Europe. The streets have been widened and improved and the majority of them have asphalt pavement. The danger of smallpox, the terror of oriental countries, which previously has been menacing the islands with regular frequency, has been reduced to an insignificant degree. Since 1902 no cholera epidemic has attained any serious proportion. Malaria is now unknown in Manila. Many of the swamp districts have been filled up.

Quite a number of municipalities have followed the example of Manila, and there are now at least 10 cities which have modern water systems. In those towns where the construction of reservoirs has been found impracticable artesian wells were drilled in order to supply the public with pure water.

Charitable activities, such as the organization of antituberculosis societies and societies for the protection of children, have acquired new vigor during the last few years. There is now in the islands the public welfare board, subsidized by the Government, the duty of which is to coordinate the work of charitable institutions and to contribute to their funds for the accomplishment of their purposes. The sum of ₱1,000,000 has been appropriated in order to help the municipalities in the establishment of associations for the protection of children.

The Culion leper colony has been maintained and liberally supplied with funds. The opposition on the part of those who suffer from the disease and their families to the confinement of the former to the colony has disappeared, and now many a diseased person voluntarily presents himself to be taken to the colony.

The quarantine service has also been maintained not only with efficiency, but has been supplied with modern equipments.

Hospital service has undergone great improvement. The Philippine General Hospital at Manila is one of the best hospitals in the Orient. The Filipinization of its personnel was effected without impairing its efficiency. Schools for nurses of both sexes are maintained both in this hospital and in that of Cebu, which has been recently opened.

It would not be too much to say that the sanitation of the Philippines will be as well taken care of by the Filipinos as formerly, and the Filipino health officers, possessing as they do a better knowledge of the peculiar habits and needs of their own people, will be able to perform their duties both with efficiency and credit, not only to themselves but also to those who have helped them in preparing for greater responsibilities.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

The passage of the Jones law has given rise to the belief on the part of some people that the material progress of the islands would suffer a setback. Facts have shown just the contrary. The declaration of the purpose of the United States to grant the Philippines its independence as soon as a stable government shall have been organized therein, and the practically complete control of public affairs given to the Filipinos have not only not caused any economic crisis but have gone far toward placing the economic life of the country on stronger foundations. The last five years have witnessed the greatest

prosperity and the highest economic development the islands ever had. Of the total foreign trade in the Philippines in 1918, which amounted to ₱468,563,496, as against ₱215,391,484 in 1913, 63.4 per cent was with the United States, as against 42.65 per cent in 1913. This fact goes to show that the establishment of an autonomous Philippine government preparatory to independence has served to strengthen the commercial bonds between the United States and the Philippines. Mutual confidence and understanding has brought about greater economic relations, just as in the past distrust and misunderstanding has had the tendency of disturbing these relations.

Another theory which has been exploded is that economic independence should come before political independence and that, therefore, the people should not ask for political freedom before securing their economic independence. Our experience during the last five years has demonstrated the contrary; that is to say, that no country can expect to prosper in a material way before having in its hands the political agencies and instrumentalities essential thereto; in short, the most effective instrumentality for economic progress is political autonomy. Before the establishment of Philippine autonomy Filipino merchants and manufacturers could not compete with foreigners for lack of credit and banking facilities, which were controlled by the latter. But the organization of an autonomous Philippine Government has paved the way for a phenomenal development of the commercial activities of the people. The Government created the Philippine National Bank, whose resources amounted only to ₱20,000,000 in 1916, which increased to more than ₱230,000,000 in 1918. This success has probably very few precedents in the world's history of banking.

The total foreign trade of the islands in 1913 was ₱215,391,484, with a balance against the islands of ₱11,000,000, while last year, 1918, our foreign trade amounted to ₱468,563,494, with a balance in our favor of ₱74,196,648, which means an increase of ₱253,172,010, or 129 per cent, in 1918 over 1913.

Our money circulation has increased also, for in 1913 we had ₱50,697,282, or ₱5.52 per capita, while at present we have in circulation ₱132,602,968, or ₱13.68 per capita.

Taxation in the Philippines was ₱4.28 per capita in 1913, compared with ₱5.36 per capita in 1917.

Another eloquent proof of the remarkable development of the islands is the fact that during the last few years 3,065 domestic corporations and firms were organized, with a capital of ₱452,192,197, to say nothing of 95 large firms, American and foreign, of world-wide reputation and with enormous capital, which have their branches in the Philippines.

PUBLIC WORKS AND PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS.

Our economic prosperity thus far obtained is undoubtedly due in large measure to the policy steadily pursued by the Government of devoting every year considerable sums of money to the promotion and extension of public works and permanent improvements. Roads have therefore been built everywhere, thus putting in communication with the outside world places hitherto inaccessible, and through an excellent system of maintenance we have been able to prevent the destruction of these

roads and get the greatest benefit possible from the money invested. Shipping has been likewise fostered with the construction of piers and wharves, the dredging of rivers, and the making of other improvements in many ports. The lighthouse system has been improved, and the work of coast survey continued. The mileage of our railroads has been increased, post and telegraph offices have been opened in many municipalities, public markets—substantial as well as hygienic—have been built, waterworks systems have been installed; in brief, a broad policy of public works and permanent improvements in all the Provinces has been worked out, yielding the quickest and most beneficial results. The following figures show the progress of road building in the islands:

Roads in existence from 1903 to 1913.

Year.	First-class road.	Second-class road.	Third-class road.	Total.	Total expenditure for roads.
	Km.	Km.	Km.	Km.	
1908.....	397.0	(1)	(1)	397.0	(1)
1909.....	553.5	(1)	(1)	553.5	(1)
1910.....	1,230.2	1,031.3	3,337.6	5,599.1	(1)
1911.....	1,587.6	1,068.9	2,956.8	5,613.3	P5,671,436.53
1912.....	1,839.6	2,159.9	3,216.8	7,216.3	5,961,858.67
1913.....	2,097.3	2,034.6	3,118.1	7,250.0	6,949,595.39
1913 ²	2,233.8	2,024.6	3,138.7	7,397.1	3,689,435.09
1914.....	2,564.0	2,024.3	2,875.7	7,464.0	7,201,190.79
1915.....	3,067.7	2,032.2	3,051.7	8,201.6	7,699,097.83
1916.....	3,439.6	2,045.8	3,440.7	8,925.1	8,035,141.05
1917.....	3,738.7	2,056.6	3,348.4	9,188.9	8,552,330.05
1918 ³	3,936.0	2,019.9	3,294.8	9,250.7	5,744,839.52

¹ Data not available.

² July 1 to Dec. 31, 1913.

³ Jan. 1 to June 30 only.

INCOME AND EXPENSES.

The following figures show the progress made in the finances of the government during the last three years:

Financial condition of the insular government during the last three years.

Items of revenue and expenditure.	1915	1916	1917	Increase or decrease 1916-17.
Source of revenue:				
Revenue from taxation.....	P25,769,492.78	P27,957,303.95	P35,448,412.30	P7,491,103.35
Incidental revenue..	1,191,204.53	1,664,392.05	2,296,270.32	631,878.27
Revenue from commercial and industrial units.....	8,479,212.96	9,326,810.77	11,832,921.62	2,506,110.85
Other income of operating units.....	80,720.73	175,262.89	52,626.02	122,633.87
Dividends on bank stocks.....		157,526.05	314,786.78	157,260.73
Income from United States Army Transport Service.....		125,315.10	337,470.62	212,155.52
Other revenues.....	3,927,589.70	6,298,239.88	4,498,753.78	1,799,483.10
Total revenue...	39,448,220.70	45,704,855.69	54,781,211.44	9,076,385.75

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Financial condition of the insular government, etc.—Continued.

Items of revenue and expenditure.	1915	1916	1917	Increase or decrease 1916-17.
Expenditures:				
General administration.....	P 26, 558, 476. 16	P 25, 384, 849. 41	P 29, 437, 890. 53	P 4, 053, 041. 12
Expenditures of operation of industrial and commercial units, etc.....	7, 182, 906. 20	7, 623, 904. 40	9, 063, 829. 24	1, 430, 924. 84
Interest on public debt.....	972, 193. 75	1, 000, 117. 30	1, 289, 822. 62	289, 705. 32
Sinking funds.....	952, 786. 63	686, 873. 14	855, 439. 49	168, 566. 35
Repayment of loans.....		22, 500. 00	22, 500. 00	
Gratuities.....		99, 476. 30	584, 353. 28	484, 876. 98
Outlays and investments.....	2, 065, 496. 60	6, 042, 123. 53	3, 992, 291. 45	2, 049, 832. 68
Other expenditures..	335, 251. 25	46, 969. 05	162, 391. 13	115, 422. 08
Total expenditures	P 38, 097, 200. 59	P 40, 906, 813. 13	P 45, 408, 717. 74	P 4, 501, 904. 61
Current surplus for the year.....	P 1, 351, 020. 11	P 4, 798, 042. 56	P 9, 372, 523. 70	P 4, 574, 481. 14
Current surplus at the beginning of the year.	8, 883, 096. 66	10, 234, 116. 77	15, 032, 159. 33	4, 798, 042. 56
Current surplus at the end of the year.....	P 10, 234, 116. 77	P 15, 032, 159. 33	P 24, 404, 683. 03	P 9, 372, 523. 70

NOTE.—Figures in italics indicate decreases.

THE NONCHRISTIAN TRIBES.

Before President Wilson decided in 1913 to appoint a Filipino majority to the Philippine Commission, the control over the so-called non-Christian tribes was entirely in the hands of Americans. It was not until that year that the Filipinos assumed the responsibility for these tribes. Both the Philippine Commission with Filipino majority and the Philippine Legislature have expressed in unequivocal terms, through legislative acts, a liberal and altruistic policy looking to the welfare and betterment of these primitive people.

The act organizing the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, in 1914, was passed with the object of carrying out this policy, and of furnishing said territory with a central organization and with officials who could more directly look after the welfare of the inhabitants. Later the legislature established the bureau of non-Christian tribes, provided for in section 22 of the Jones law, and set forth the duties of the same in the following words:

To foster through all adequate means and in a systematic, rapid, and thorough manner the material, moral, economic, social, and political development of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos, always having in view the permanent mutual understanding and complete fusion of the Christian and non-Christian elements living in the Provinces of the archipelago.

To insure the success of this policy the organization and extension of public schools in all the non-Christian territory has been the object of special care. Since 1903 primary schools in Mindanao and Sulu, where the Arabic and English languages were taught, have been organized. However, in view of the novelty of the plan and the distrust on the part of the Moros and other non-Christians, the success of the public schools was very little. Toward the end of the school year 1914 the at-

tendance of these schools was 4,535. During the last five years, when the Filipinos shaped the legislative policy toward the Moros, progress in education has been tremendous. The following figures show the average daily attendance and the expenses incurred from 1912 to the present time:

Fiscal year.	Average daily attendance.	Expenses.
1912.....	3,807	P93,987
1913.....	4,535	137,069
1918 (calculated).....	16,114	650,000

A clearer idea of the progress of education amongst the non-Christians will be given by the following data: The number of teachers in the Mountain Province in 1912 was 93; to-day there are 251. In 1912 there were 64 teachers in the Province of Nueva Viscaya; at present there are 67. In the whole Department of Mindanao and Sulu there were only 99 teachers in 1912, whereas to-day there are 783. The splendid spirit demonstrated by these teachers by leaving their homes to go out to the non-Christian provinces is going to be a strong factor for the unification and naturalization of the different elements of the country.

Side by side with the extension of public schools the public health service has also progressed. In 1914 the school and health authorities in charge of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu established a combined plan of schools and public dispensaries, of which 17 are already in operation at central points. Approximately 30,000 patients receive treatment in these dispensaries every year. Besides these school dispensaries, there are 9 special ones under the control of the health service.

No less important than the health work is the extension of public works to all the regions inhabited by the non-Christians. Special attention has been devoted to the construction and maintenance of roads, the improvement of ports and landings, the extension and maintenance of telephone lines, waterworks, and the construction of public buildings, especially schools and hospitals.

But this is not all that has been done. The non-Christians are also taught how to get the best results from the natural resources of their soil. Every year a considerable number of graduates from the College of Agriculture are sent to the non-Christian provinces, to the end that they may teach the inhabitants the modern methods of cultivation. Interisland migration has been fostered by the government's help to those who establish themselves on Mindanao and Sulu lands for the purpose of cultivating them and of living with their non-Christian brothers. In 1917 the Philippine Legislature appropriated the sum of P100,000 for this purpose, which amount was increased to P250,000 last year.

By virtue of the Jones law the non-Christian tribes were for the first time granted representation in the national legislature. Three prominent and representative Moros and two pagans have been appointed members of the senate and of the house of representatives. The Moro senator and representatives have been given the special privilege of taking the oath of office in accordance

with the rites prescribed by the Koran. This step was looked upon by the Mohammedans as a proof of religious tolerance and respect for Mohammedan beliefs on the part of the Christian Filipinos.

At the time of the inauguration of the Philippine Legislature important memorials were presented expressing the feelings of confidence and affection of the Moros toward their Christian brothers. These memorials were sent to both houses of the legislature and were signed by the Sultan of Sulu and by the most influential datos of the different provinces of the department. In them they express their gratitude for the material benefits received and the political privileges granted them during the last three years, and also for the liberal appropriations for public works, health service, and schools, and for the representation allowed them in the Philippine Legislature in accordance with the new organic law of the Philippine Islands. In these memorials the hope is also expressed that the administration will continue making closer the present relations among the inhabitants of the Philippines. Most of the data referred to has been taken from a recent official report submitted by Gov. Frank W. Carpenter, of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, who is at the same time chief of the bureau of non-Christian tribes.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

It can be asserted without dispute that the English language serves at the present time as a common medium of communication among the islanders who still speak their own dialects. The progress of the English language has been the result of the splendid work done by the public schools, and to-day English is the language most widely spoken in the whole Archipelago. Business between the central government and most of the Provinces and municipalities is transacted in English. True, the proceedings of the Philippine Legislature are still in Spanish, but the acts are translated into English. The English language prevails in the commercial transactions of the islands.

We will not have to wait very long before the English language is the official language even in the courts, and the language most generally used in private life. The present leaders of the people have a working knowledge of the language and many of them read and write it fairly, if they do not speak it, with few difficulties in their official conversations. The younger generation has a thorough knowledge of the language and speaks and writes it in most cases.

The spread of this language as the common language of the inhabitants of the Archipelago is assured, not only because it is the basis of instruction in the public schools, but also because it is essential to the best interests and the future of the people. Once the plan is carried out of giving primary instruction to every child of school age there is no doubt that the generations to come will speak English, which will certainly obtain a firm foothold among the people.

It is not only the public schools that teach English; the private schools do so likewise. The law requires the Department of Public Instruction to grant licenses for private schools and to exercise supervision over private schools and colleges of all kinds, with the power to approve their courses of study and to

revoke their licenses if the conditions established by the Government are not fulfilled. For a long time now these colleges and schools have been ordered to make English one of the required subjects, and their instruction has steadily improved.

It is inconceivable that the Filipino people, when they shall have become independent, would take any step other than that of continuing this policy. It would be unreasonable to undo what has been done without mentioning the great expense which such change of policy would involve. We therefore venture to assert that the predominance of English is assured.

REQUISITES FOR A STABLE GOVERNMENT.

The phrase "stable government" has a definite meaning in the foreign relations of the United States, especially in connection with its dealings with the weak countries that have fought for their independence. This is not the first time that the American Government has made use of this phrase as regards the recognition of new States.

The conditions required by the United States before granting such recognition are merely conditions of fact; that is to say, where a government *de facto* is established and whether such government has conditions of stability. In 1875 there was considerable agitation in the United States for the recognition of Cuban independence, and President Grant in his message to Congress expressed the idea that recognition would not be possible until the Cuban people could establish a government possessing elements of stability. Quoting his words:

Where a considerable body of people, who have attempted to free themselves of the control of the superior government, have reached such point in occupation of territory, in power, and in general organization as to constitute in face a body politic, having a government in substance as well as in name, possessed of the elements of stability, and equipped with the machinery for the administration of internal policy and the execution of its laws, prepared and able to administer justice at home, as well as in its dealing with other powers, it is within the province of those other powers to recognize its existence as a new and independent nation.

Dwelling further on what he thought a stable government was, he said:

To establish the condition of things essential to the recognition of this fact, there must be a people occupying a known territory, united under some known and defined form of government, acknowledged by those subject thereto, in which the functions of government are administered by usual methods, competent to mete out justice to citizens and strangers, to afford remedies for public and private wrongs, and able to assume the correlative international obligations and capable of performing the corresponding international duties resulting from its acquisition of the rights of sovereignty.

President McKinley, in discussing the recognition of the independence of Cuba, quoted the words of President Grant, saying:

The United States, in addition to the test imposed by public law as the condition of the recognition of independence by a neutral State (to wit, that the revolted State shall "constitute in fact a body politic, having a government in substance as well as in name, possessed of all the elements of stability," and forming *de facto*, "if left to itself, a State among the nations, reasonably capable of discharging the duties of a State"), has imposed for its own government in dealing with cases like these the further condition that recognition of independent statehood is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being again subjugated by the parent State has entirely passed away.

As a result of the war, Spain had to withdraw her sovereignty from Cuba. The American Government temporarily

occupied the islands and proceeded to organize a stable government. The first measure was the taking of a census which would show the degree of political capacity of the people. In this way it was found that 66 per cent of the inhabitants of the island could neither read nor write—a percentage greater than in the Philippines, where illiteracy is 30 per cent—and limited suffrage was established, based more or less on the same conditions now required in the Philippines. After the census the military governor, Gen. Wood, promulgated a law which provided for the holding of provincial and municipal elections. Thereafter the same voters who took part in these elections were qualified to choose the members of the constitutional convention which drafted the constitution of Cuba. The military governor inaugurated the convention, and by order of the Secretary of War said, among other things:

It will be your duty, first, to frame and adopt a constitution of Cuba * * * adequate to secure a stable, orderly, and free government.

The constitution adopted by the Cuban people was not entirely satisfactory to Secretary Root, but being the result of conscientious deliberations by the representatives of the people of Cuba, it was accepted. On December 31, 1901, the people of Cuba chose their provincial governors, their councilors, and members of the house of representatives, and the presidential and senatorial electors. These last met on February 24, 1902, in order to choose the president, vice president, and senators. After the election of these officials the American Government made ready to transfer to their hands the reins of government. The condition of stability had been fulfilled, and on May 20, 1902, the military governor, on behalf of the President of the United States, read the memorable document which transferred to "the duly elected representatives of the people of Cuba the government and control of the islands," and declared "the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the islands" to be ended.

A "stable government" has, therefore, been construed to mean, in the case of Cuba, a government duly chosen by the people. This was the clear interpretation adopted by the American Government.

It is evident that this is the same interpretation given to the phrase "stable government" as used in the preamble of the Jones law.

That the Filipinos now have a government of this sort, a government constituted by the people, able to preserve order and to comply with its international obligations, can not be denied by any fair-minded man who knows the conditions of the country. Our present government is a government based on the peaceful suffrage of the people, representing the whole country, deriving their powers from the people and subject to the limitations and safeguards which the experience of constitutional government has shown to be essential to the maintenance and protection of individual rights.

Our central, provincial, and municipal governments rest upon the peaceful suffrage of the Filipino people. The insular government has at its disposal a complete governmental machinery recognized and supported by the people. The guiding part of this machinery is already in the hands of the Filipinos. There is

a Philippine Legislature whose members are elected by the qualified voters of the islands, which legislative body is invested with general legislative powers within the limitations laid down by the Jones law. In said legislature the non-Christian element is represented by nine members appointed by the Governor General. We have also a judicial system based upon the American principle of independence of the judicial department. Our laws and our courts are of the modern type, like those of the most progressive nations of the west. Our codes are based on Spanish and American jurisprudence, taking from the Spanish substantive laws, their conciseness, symmetry, and philosophy, and from the American laws of procedure their facility, common sense, and efficiency. The limitations and safeguards for the protection of individual rights are thoroughly ingrained in the political life of the Filipino people and no political change that might take place would in any way impair them.

We have, therefore, a stable government in the Philippines which fulfills all the conditions required by the United States in other cases of recognition of new States, especially in the case of Cuba, and this government is now in operation and is practically controlled and directed by the Filipinos themselves. If the Governor and Vice Governor General of the Philippine Islands were to be suddenly withdrawn from the archipelago and in their place Filipinos were appointed, no part of the governmental machinery would suffer thereby and every piece thereof would move as regularly and as orderly as at present.

The testimony of the representatives of the American Government in the islands during all the time that the Philippine Government was in the hands of the Filipinos bears out the assertion which we made in regard to the conditions of stability of the Philippine Government.

Says Governor Harrison:

There are about 1,000 municipalities in the Philippines, all of which are governed by elective Filipino officials. There are about 42 Provinces in the islands likewise governed by Filipinos. There are two elective houses of the legislature composed entirely of Filipinos. Out of seven members in the cabinet six are Filipinos, and most of the heads of the executive departments of the government are Filipinos to-day. It is true that there are still some 700 Americans in the Philippines, but for the most part they are teachers, professors, and scientists, and to my mind a class of men who would be desired by the Filipinos even if they had complete independence.

That presents a picture of practical autonomy. It has been going on for the last two and a half years, or ever since the recent charter has been given us by Congress, and in my opinion, during those two and a half years the Filipinos, having been given an opportunity, have satisfactorily demonstrated the fact that they have already established and are maintaining the stable form of government which is prescribed in the preamble to the Jones bill as a prerequisite to their independence.

On another occasion he said:

By temperament, by experience, by financial ability, in every way the 10,000,000 Filipinos are entitled to be free from every government.

Vice Gov. Charles E. Yeater, in an official telegram to the Secretary of War, reports:

The capacity for initiative and the constructive spirit evidenced by the legislature, the first organized under the Jones law, is worthy of great commendation. Its capacity to investigate government problems and to act expeditiously but with due caution is certainly unprecedented in history, considering that for three centuries this people had practically no political rights and were debarred from the benefits of education. American legislative practice and procedure has always been

examined, and with few exceptions followed. As indicative, however, of their independent frame of mind it may be noted that a single legislative committee has had charge of both appropriations and ways and means since 1907, and under the provisions of the Jones law has adopted substantially the basic principles of the English budget system instead of maintaining a rigorous application of the theory of the separation of governmental powers as far as the legislative and executive departments are concerned, the latter directed by an American. This legislature has given to the secretaries of the various departments the right to appear before either house to defend publicly the measures proposed by the executive or to oppose measures originated in such houses. Finally, as one of the representatives in these islands of the United States Government, I wish to attest the patriotism of the Filipinos and their loyal attachment to the United States Government. This legislature which has just terminated its sessions has acted with judgment and prudence and in what it has done and left undone during its term now drawing to a close, and should be credited for the wisdom with which it has guided and directed the Filipino people in the paths of order and tranquility during these recent years of almost universal turmoil and unrest. Perfect peace has prevailed here and all provincial and municipal government instrumentalities of force have had no function to perform.

In regard to honesty and efficiency, the Philippine government can be favorably compared to the best in the world. No charge of bribery has been made against any high official. Cases of misappropriation of public funds have been exceptionally few, and only subordinate officials were involved. The offending parties have been discharged from the service, and whenever sufficient evidence for conviction was available they were prosecuted.

Efficiency in the civil service has been maintained at a high standard. Appointments of chiefs and assistant chiefs of division have been based strictly on merit and not political considerations. In most cases men who had served for a long time have been promoted to these positions with a view to the efficiency of the service.

Every citizen has enjoyed civil and political rights without hindrance and amid public peace and safety. Religious tolerance has grown to such an extent that all Christian denominations are working in perfect harmony; Mohammedans and Christians in Mindanao and Sulu respect each other's religious practices. Moral campaigns have been carried on at all times, with appreciable results in the uplift of the people.

The progress made along material and economic lines in recent years shows the entire confidence of all the residents of the Philippines in the orderly and stable conditions of the country.

III.

NATIONAL SENTIMENT HAS INVARIABLY BEEN FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

It would seem to be entirely unnecessary to discuss the question of whether or not the Filipinos desire to be independent at this time, but some doubt being entertained by a number of American citizens as to whether the Filipinos, after being given the opportunity to manage their domestic affairs, would not prefer, for their best interest, to continue certain relations of political dependence with the United States, we have decided to devote this chapter to a treatment of the present aspirations of the people in relation to the independence problem.

If the historical events in the Philippines in 1896 and 1898 are studied, it will be seen that the longing for independence

was the most powerful sentiment behind the revolution against Spain the latter year. With the breaking out of hostilities between the United States and Spain the Filipinos saw their chance to destroy Spanish dominion and to declare their independence. They turned a deaf ear to the alluring promises made by the Spanish authorities, and, with the moral and material support of the Americans, they—the Filipinos—were fortunately able to defeat the Spanish forces and to seize practically all of the territory of the islands. Then the Filipinos organized a government under Aguinaldo, whose authority spread throughout the islands and received the approbation and consent of the people.

This aspiration for independence was the thing that moved the Filipinos to go through the sufferings and sacrifices of another war against the Americans in 1899, in spite of the fact that they knew beforehand the weakness of their forces and the certainty of their defeat in the face of the formidable power and the unlimited resources of the people of the United States. It has frequently been said that the war against the Americans was but the work of a group of Tagals, but the extent and duration of the military operations carried on by the American forces and the unanimous resistance with which they met everywhere prove that the national sentiment of the Filipinos was opposed to a new domination.

The Filipinos accepted peace, not for the purpose of giving up their aspirations for independence, but only to change their method of obtaining them. They were willing to go through the training in self-government which was required of them in the hope that they would thus secure their independence sooner. They were convinced of their own capacity, and therefore instead of obstructing the work of reconstruction and progress inaugurated by the American Government, they heartily lent their cooperation, at the same time bending every energy to secure larger opportunities to show in actual practice and in the exercise of great responsibilities what they could do in governmental affairs.

The history of the last 10 years, from the organization of the Philippine Assembly, when for the first time the people were permitted to express their opinion in regard to their political future, proves beyond doubt the firm and unswerving determination of the Filipinos to obtain a full recognition of their international sovereignty.

Speaker Osmeña, in a speech delivered at the close of the legislative session on June 19, 1908, made the following utterances:

Through all the vicissitudes, difficulties, and reverses the ideal of the Filipino people has remained unalterable. The adverse fortune of Filipino arms has not shaken the aspirations of the people, neither has the false hope so often held out in the midst of people's misfortunes, of the possibility of the Philippines being made a State of the great American Union ever made them hesitate in the least. The Filipino people accepted peace, principally because they expected justice from the American people. Far from holding aloof from or making difficult the work of the Government in its implantation, they did everything they could to promote and improve it. They went to the polls when the municipal government was established; they also willingly took part in the government of the Provinces when amid countless difficulties, and when the ruins of the revolution still loomed grim and terrible they were called upon to do so; and they chose their representatives when the solemn hour came for the most difficult test of their capacity to

manage their own destiny. But neither before nor after did they yield to promise or fear; before and after they aspired for their national independence, both when they cast their vote in favor of a free and independent life and when yesterday on the battle field they offered the lives of their best sons for the sake of our country and of her ideals. We must thus speak clearly in this august place, where fallacy does not lurk, where deceit has no place, and where truth finds its seat, and where justice presents itself with all of its lofty attributes; we must speak thus in this place where we feel with full sense of responsibility our love, our most legitimate veneration for the Philippines.

The Filipino people aspire to-day, as before taking up arms for the second time against Spain, as thereafter in the din of arms, and then in peace, for their national independence.

Allow me, gentlemen of the house, following the dictates of my conscience as a delegate, as a representative of the country, under my responsibility as speaker of this house, to declare solemnly, as I do now before God and before the world, that we believe that our people aspire for their independence; that our people consider themselves capable of leading an orderly life, efficient for themselves and for others, in the concert of free and civilized nations; and that we believe that if the people of the United States were to decide at this moment the Philippine cause in favor of the Filipinos the latter could, in assuming the consequent responsibility, comply with their duties to themselves and to others without detriment to liberty, to justice, and to right.

At the close of the legislative session on May 20, 1909, the following resolution was passed by the Philippine Assembly:

Whereas at the meeting of June 19, 1908, the assembly approved and adopted the following words of the speaker, to wit:

"Allow me, gentlemen of the house, following the dictates of my conscience as a delegate, as a representative of the country, under my responsibility as speaker of this house, to declare solemnly, as I do now before God and before the world, that we believe that our people aspire for their independence; that our people consider themselves capable of leading an orderly life, efficient for themselves and for others, in the concert of free and civilized nations; and that we believe that if the people of the United States were to decide at this moment the Philippine cause in favor of the Filipinos, the latter could, in assuming the consequent responsibility, comply with their duties to themselves and to others, without detriment to liberty, to justice, and to right."

Whereas the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, delegate from Tayabas, attended said meeting and voted in favor of said resolution, and said Hon. Manuel L. Quezon is now elected Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands in the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this house state to the Resident Commissioner elect, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, that the members thereof would be highly satisfied if, upon his appearance before the Congress of the United States and when he finds opportunity therefor, he should make known to said Congress our aspiration for independence as expressed at the meeting of the assembly on June 19, 1908.

Resident Commissioner Mr. Quezon, in fulfilling the instructions contained in the above resolution, delivered a speech in the House of Representatives on May 14, 1910, in the course of which he said:

Mr. Chairman, from what I have said it can be seen that the affairs of the islands are not in a very encouraging state; rather, that the outlook is depressing. The Filipinos, however, are patiently and hopefully looking forward to brighter days. We are aware that you have not gone to those islands for your own profit; we are aware that you have not gone there to subjugate us, but to emancipate us. The lesson of your history—the most brilliant history of all the nations of the world—is inconsistent with any other motive in your dealings with the Filipinos than that of making them free. This great Republic, founded and reared by liberty-loving people, can not undertake any task not in keeping with right, justice, happiness, and liberty for all mankind. We have an unshaken faith in the future destiny of our beloved fatherland, since its fate was committed to your care. We firmly believe and sincerely trust that the day will soon come when this Congress, composed of the representatives of a God-fearing people, will generously give to us the blessings of that freedom which has made you so happy, so prosperous, and so great, and which is, after all, the keynote of the happy-

ness and prosperity of every people. When that time comes—and let us hope that it may happen to-morrow—the day when was raised in the Philippines the ever-glorious Stars and Stripes will eternally be the best celebrated day of our national life.

In a memorial submitted to the then Secretary of War, Mr. Dickinson, by the Nacionalista Party on September 1, 1910, the following was said:

These facts are mentioned with the object of showing that the persistency of the Filipinos in being independent is bound up in the recollections of that short period of their past in which, associated with the Americans, they threw down the secular power of a sovereignty and experienced the satisfaction and happiness of governing themselves, their interests, and their future. Then, they understood how satisfactory and sweet to the citizens is the yoke imposed by the power of its own laws and the government by men of its own race, and how close and loyal is the cooperation which exists between people and government to better the interests of the country and to enter resolutely and without embarrassment into the wide ways of human progress. Then the Filipinos abandoned all the vicious practices which the former sovereignty had extended over all the masses and recovered the good qualities which people free from all yoke possessed. This moved the Filipinos to resist with all their force the new American domination, and to submit to it only when they fully understood that they might be independent in a more or less short period. The efforts of the Filipinos in defense of that government, the blood which its soldiers shed, and the money which was employed in the service of the Filipino flag, recalls to them constantly that short period of its happiness and makes them consider the present as a temporary situation which they desire to abbreviate as much as possible in order to acquire the satisfaction of their national ambitions and their intentions of elevation and enrichment of the country.

On February 3, 1911, the Philippine Assembly passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the assembly ask, as it hereby does ask, the Congress of the United States immediately to recognize the independence of the Filipino people in the form expressed in the memorial of the Nacionalista Party, dated September 1, 1910;

Resolved further, That the assembly adopt each and every conclusion and proposition contained in said memorial; and

Resolved further, That this resolution be transmitted by cable to the Congress of the United States and to the Resident Commissioners of the Philippine Islands, suggesting that they present and support the same in Congress before the termination of the present session of said Congress.

On February 1, 1912, the Philippine Assembly reiterated its petition in the following terms:

Resolved, That the Philippine Assembly reiterate, as it hereby does reiterate, the petition for immediate independence of the Philippines to the Congress of the United States.

Resolved further, That this resolution be transmitted by cable to the Resident Commissioners, in Washington, recommending that the same be conveyed to and supported in said Congress.

On February 11, 1913, in view of the change of administration in the United States, Speaker Osmena, in his speech at the close of the legislative session, made the following declarations:

There in America another party now comes to power—the Democratic Party. Old in history, new in victory, this party has been unceasingly fighting for the ideals of the Filipino people for more than a decade. It stated in a solemn manner before all the nations in its Baltimore platform the following:

“We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established,

such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

"In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases."

We trust that the meaning of these words, which are clear and unmistakable, will be transmuted into reality. I believe and hope that this will be done, because the American people are just. The die is cast, and God, who has never failed the other people, will not fail ours. In the meantime let us remain quiet; let everyone stay in his rank, fighting as he can; let us carry on our campaigns with courage and disinterestedness, and either we are entirely mistaken or the days to come will be to the Filipino people, who have struggled so much and suffered so much, days of vindication, days of liberty.

On October 16, 1913, the Philippine Assembly passed the following:

Resolution sending to the President of the United States of America through the Governor General of the Philippines a message from the Philippine Assembly in the name of the Filipino people.

Whereas the President of the United States has sent through the Governor General, the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, as message to the people of the Philippines, and said message was duly delivered on the 16th day of October, 1913, its text being as follows:

"We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands.

"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next.

"The administration will take one step at once, and will give to the native citizens of the islands a majority in the appointive commission, and thus in the upper as well as in the lower house of the legislature a majority representation will be secured.

"We do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will be given in the action of the commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and to lead their people in affairs."

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Philippine Assembly, in the name of the people of the Philippines, pray, as it hereby prays, the chief executive thereof to kindly forward to the President of the United States the following message in reply:

We, the representatives of the Filipino people, constituting the Philippine Assembly, do solemnly declare—

That the right of the Filipino people to be free and independent is evident to us, so that pursuing the line of progress for themselves, theirs is the responsibility to labor for their prosperity in all lines and direct their own destinies. This was the aspiration of the people in entering into the contest with Spain, and the presence of the American flag in Manila Bay first and later in the interior of the archipelago did not modify but rather it affirmed that aspiration in spite of reverses in war and difficulties in peace. The people, when called upon to deposit their ballots, ratified once for all this aspiration, and the national representation since the inauguration of the assembly has but acted in harmony with the popular will. So, in the midst of the most adverse conditions, the ideal of the people has not faltered, and it is so stated respectfully and frankly on this occasion to the authorities of the United States.

On the other hand, our faith in the justice of the American people has been as great and as persistent as our ideal. We have waited patiently, confident that sooner or later mistakes and injustice would be corrected. The message of the President of the United States to the Filipino people tells eloquently that we have not waited in vain.

We accept this message with love and gratitude, and we consider it a definite statement of the purpose of the American Nation to recognize the independence of the islands. The immediate step to concede us a majority on the commission puts into our hands the instruments of power and of responsibility for the institution by ourselves of a stable Philippine government. We fully recognize and we are grateful from the bottom of our hearts for the confidence placed in us by the Government of the United States. We appreciate the appointment of

the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison as governor general, considering it the unequivocal announcement of the new era, wherein we expect that the attitude of the people be one of decided cooperation and support. We believe that the experiments of imperialism have ended, and that the policy of colonial exploitation has passed into history. The time for suspicious has passed, and upon the opening of the doors of opportunity to Filipinos the weight of responsibility is made to rest upon them, which it were inexcusable cowardice to evade or refuse. Hence in a few days good understanding has been arrived at between Americans and Filipinos which in the past 13 years could not take root. We are convinced that each step taken, while relieving the American Government of its responsibilities in the islands, will fully demonstrate, as in the past, the actual ability of the Filipino people to establish self-government, and under such government guarantee permanently the life, the property, and the liberty of the residents of the islands, whether native or foreign. We do not mean by this that there will be no difficulties or hindrances. We do not even hope that the campaign, open or secret, of the enemies of the Philippines cause will quickly end, but we feel sure that through the use of the faculties intrusted to us the Filipino people, by the grace of God and the help of America, will proudly emerge from the test, however difficult it be; and

Resolved further, That a committee of seven be appointed by the speaker of the assembly to go to the office of the governor general and deliver to him this resolution duly certified.

At the last meeting of the session ending February 28, 1914, Speaker Osmena submitted, before closing his speech, the following declaration, which was unanimously adopted:

We, the representatives of the Filipino people, constituting the Philippine Assembly, solemnly make the following

DECLARATION.

In ratifying, as we do hereby ratify, the national aspiration to independence so often expressed by this assembly in previous sessions, especially in that of the 3d of February, 1911, we ratify our faith in the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence made by the American people in 1776. This declaration, though written by Jefferson, belongs to humanity and yet holds good. Above the egoism of peoples clothed at times in the dazzling mantle of a feigned generosity and the pride of nations obsessed by the fleeting triumphs of an imperialism ambitious and aggressive, the history of many years tells us that the advancement and greatness of a nation may be firmly established without abandoning the fundamental principles of self-government, and that this doctrine may be preserved with loyalty and love through all changes and through the passing of many generations.

We consider the policy of the present President of the United States, and of his representative in the Philippines, the Governor General, as rightfully inspired by the principles of that declaration. Hence, in contrast to the previous administration, which, actuated by the idea of colonial expansion, could find but vague and indecisive words in tracing its line of conduct in the Philippines, the present administration from the first moment found within its sphere of action categorical and definite declarations as to what in its judgment should be the future of a Christian people of 8,000,000 placed merely by the chances of war in the hands of the United States.

These forceful declarations were made despite the persistent and apparently organized efforts principally of those who, being responsible for having established a government by force yesterday, are attempting now, under the specious pretext of subserving the interest of the Filipino, to keep the people of the United States by every possible means from doing justice to the Filipinos. The President of the United States, as leader of the party in power, and as the exponent of the ideas of its people in vogue now, has already started to rectify erroneous theories in respect to the Philippines, exemplified in 15 years of imperialistic administration. It is now within the constitutional authority of Congress to definitely decide the insistent demands submitted to it, with honor for the Americans and with justice for the Filipinos. Besides the basic principles of government established since remote ages, after the long sufferings and weariness borne by those who, like us, were oppressed and sought liberty, Congress has the good fortune to possess another specific rule, and ultimately solemnly adopted in three national conventions, and one of which, after ratification in Baltimore, won the campaign that culminated in the election of the present majority in Congress. We earnestly and respectfully

urge the early adoption by Congress of those legislative measures that in its wisdom it believes should be adopted to make the promises of independence to the Philippines immediately effective.

Respecting ourselves, the Filipinos, we regard the early adoption of such legislation essential to our life as a people. Not only because we are contending with strong adversaries many miles away, far from our soil and our environment, and that we are destitute of the power of the ballot, but because it is fundamental for the permanent effectiveness of our efforts in behalf of the progress and welfare of our people that we have in our hands the guarantees of our future. In insisting on the immediate control of our affairs we are not actuated by the single desire to burden ourselves with the heavy weight of new responsibilities, but because we wish right now to establish the permanent bases of our political nationality, and, step by step, with confidence and assurance, to move forward, so that without unnecessary and sudden changes we may build with our own hands, piece by piece, and following the pattern which popular conscience advises us to be the best, the governmental structure, having as its main duty the promotion of happiness, the preservation of peace, and the protection of life and property of the natives and of the foreigners of good will who may live and settle in our Philippine territory.

On February 16, 1915, the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly approved the following resolutions:

Resolved by the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly in joint session assembled, in the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento Building in Manila, That the Governor General be, and he is hereby, requested to send the following message from the Philippine Legislature to the President of the United States:

"We express our deep gratitude for the unwavering interest shown by the President in behalf of the people of the Philippine Islands. This reiteration of intention to support the Filipino people in their petition for an independent government shows the sincerity and perseverance with which the administration proposes to carry out the plan for the independence of the Philippines, and that this intention is the same as that communicated to the people of the Philippine Islands in so solemn a manner on the 6th of October, 1913, and afterwards ratified by the President in his subsequent messages to Congress.

"For our part, we again reiterate, in the name of the Filipino people, the national desire and purpose set forth on many former occasions. We have already made such substantial progress in local government that it has been deemed wise and desirable to give to the people the practical management of their affairs, both municipal and provincial. The result of the reform extending popular control in provincial government has demonstrated that the hopes of success of those responsible for this measure, adopted because of full confidence in the capacity of the people, has justified the action. The confidence of the Government of the United States has been also fully justified by the result of extending Filipino control in the insular government. Notwithstanding that the tumult of the world's greatest war still continues and that everywhere the effect has been felt in financial and economic crises, yet in spite of the limited resources of our government and the continuing limitations of our commerce, the government of the Philippine Islands has successfully met its every necessary expenditure without resort to additional loans either from the United States or foreign Governments.

"But, living not alone for the present, our foresight goes far beyond, and we wish to assure a stable future for our people. We desire an increase of the elements of our national life and progress. We ask yet more, and for that reason in reiterating, as we hereby do reiterate, our urgent petitions for liberty and independence for the people of the Philippine Islands we, the elected representatives of the Filipino people, express our confidence that the efforts of the President of the United States to secure the fulfillment of his promises and the realization of our lawful hopes will obtain early and complete success."

On February 4, 1916, the Philippine Assembly unanimously approved the following political declaration:

It has always been customary with the Philippine Assembly at every session before adjournment to ratify its faith in the principles of liberty and independence of the Filipino people, not because such principles need be repeated each time in order to find a firm lodgment in the heart of the popular chamber; no; but to demonstrate to the world that neither time nor circumstances, often disheartening, has succeeded in diverting the representatives of the people from the line of conduct mapped out since the beginning of their public life. During that period

of our struggle against dominant imperialism we felt it our duty to face the fact, and, despite the precarious situation and the timidity of a few people, frankly to state to our sovereign, the American people, the sole ambition of our existence. And so we did. At the dawn of a new era for the Philippines those sacred principles which heretofore were abhorred by some now find the doors of hope opened, so that all, without any exception, may freely enter and receive a hearty welcome.

The news coming from the Senate of the United States would indicate that the final hour has struck. In the acts of the insular administration here, as well as in those of the United States Government, the most sincere intentions to do us full justice are apparent. For this reason the Philippine Assembly, the depository of popular aspirations, can not but see with satisfaction that its long and persevering efforts and its insistent and fervid demands are upon the point of being crystallized into material and tangible form. On the eve of such transcendent events, after the uncertainty and struggles of the past, and in the midst of our hopes for speedy emancipation, we, the representatives assembled, turn our eyes now to the Capitol of the United States and once more await with persistence and faith the enactment of the pending measure. The tenacity, efforts, activities, and sacrifices, shown by our Resident Commissioners have been no small factor in the struggle now about to effect this happy consummation. They have been, and are, the guiding spirits of this great campaign. We applaud their splendid and patriotic work, and we recognize that no one could have done within so short a time what they have done in behalf of this country. We expect that as Members of the House of Representatives they will lose no opportunity to move the patriotism of the American people and appeal to the sentiments of humanity and justice of their Representatives. Our fervant desire is that the longed-for measure be not delayed in its passage. We Filipinos earnestly desire it. Once again we are one in this plea, as we were in the revolution. We feel confident that Divine Justice will grant us in peace what it could not grant us in time of war.

On October 16, 1917, the same Philippine Legislature approved another joint resolution, which says:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines, in joint session assembled in the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento: That the governor general be, and hereby is, requested to send the following message to the President of the United States:

"The Philippine Legislature deems it a duty incumbent upon it to voice the unequivocal expressions of the loyalty of the people of these islands to the cause of the United States of America in the present war and in this solemn manner to ratify and transmit the same to the American people. We realize that in this war there are being tried in the balance the greatest principles of humanity and right which in future will be the foundation of the stability, peace, and security of all nations, whether they be great or small or belong to one race or another.

"Our loyalty to the cause is based on the evident justice of the enforced intervention of the American people in this war, in which they have been guided solely by the supreme interest of defending universal democracy and upholding the right of small nations to live in confidence and security under their own governments, safe from the threats and perils of autocracy and imperialism.

"We firmly believe that the final triumph of democracy, in securing for the world the principle of nationality for the benefit of the small nations, will finally enable our people to attain the ideals for which we have always struggled, namely, our constitution into a free and independent nation, with a democratic government of law and order, ready to be another instrument of democracy and universal progress."

On November 20, 1918, upon receipt of official notification of the signing of the armistice, the Philippine Legislature approved the following message to the President of the United States:

Whereas the Chief Executive has just informed the legislature that it may take official cognizance of the termination of hostilities in Europe under the terms of the armistice laid down by the United States and her associated Governments; and

Whereas said terms of the armistice are such as to insure the advent of peace: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines, assembled in joint session in the marble hall of the Ayuntamiento, That a message of the most heartfelt congratulations be sent to the

President of the United States for the brilliant success obtained by the United States in the terrible war just ended, together with the expressions of the confident expectation of the Filipino people that this victory of power shall be converted into the victory of right by the glorious realization of the great ideals of humanity, justice, and liberty and self-government enunciated and reiterated by President Wilson;

Be it further resolved, That this body express, and does hereby express, the gratitude of the Filipino people to the United States for the part they were allowed to take in the most far-reaching enterprise ever undertaken by democracy, the first part of which, fought in the field of arms, has successfully ended;

Be it finally resolved, That the Filipino people, which have unqualifiedly sided with the United States when the war was thrust upon her, hereby renew their adherence to the noble purposes sought in the war, and they place themselves again, as heretofore, at the pleasure of the American people, ready to contribute their modest but cordial and determined service in the forthcoming task of reconstruction and peace. The Filipino people believe that Providence, in choosing the American people as the leaders in this stupendous and immortal enterprise, has ordained in His high designs that through the complete development and application to all peoples of the principles which have given birth to the United States the fruit of victory, gained at the cost of untold sacrifices, shall not have come to naught; that the world be made safe for democracy; that the rights and liberties of the small nations be forever secured and guaranteed; that the people desiring to be free be liberated and allowed to establish, without fear or hindrance, a government of their own choosing, and change it at will, when so demanded by their best interests; that the weak be not at the mercy of the strong; and that the spirit of selfishness and domination be destroyed, and established in its place among all free men of the world, a new kingdom of constructive and equal justice, based upon foundations that will make it universal, secure, and permanent. And when all these things shall have been accomplished the universal belief shall have been confirmed, that the war which has happily ended has been fought in the interest of free humanity and the everlasting peace of the world.

In each and every one of these documents the sentiment of the Filipinos for their independence, a living sentiment, constant and ever-growing, is reflected. Neither the years that have passed nor the benefits received from the American Government have in any manner changed this sentiment. The Filipinos to-day, more than ever, believe that the time has come when the political relations between the two countries should be settled and adjusted with a view to a final solution. It is for this reason that the legislature enacted a law creating a committee on independence, charged with the duty of studying the means of and taking the necessary steps for negotiating with the Government of the United States the terms of the independence of the Philippines. This committee has deemed it necessary to send to the United States a special mission, which is not a political body. The economic interests of the country predominate in it. Out of the 26 full-fledged members, 14 have no official connections, are not in active politics; 4 officially represent agricultural interests; 2 represent industrial interests; 4 represent commercial interests; 1 represents the Catholics of the country; 1 represents the laborers; 1, formerly a Resident Commissioner in Washington, is now a business man; and 1 represents the medical profession. These 14 men have official representation of the economic forces of the country, and they are all for the immediate independence of the Philippines.

Nothing could better explain the present attitude of the Filipinos and their determination to obtain their independence from the Government and people of the United States than the documents hereto appended, where the legislature defines the

powers of the Philippine mission and states its duties. (See Appendices "A" and "B.")

Respectfully submitted,

Manuel L. Quezon, *president of the Philippine Senate, chairman*; Rafael Palma, *secretary of the interior and senator fourth district (Manila), vice chairman*; Dionisio JaKosalem, *secretary of commerce and communications, member*; Pedro M. Sison, *senator second district (Pangasinan), member*; V. Singson Encarnacion, *senator first district (Ilocos), member*; Rafael Alunan, *representative (Occidental Negros), majority floor leader, member*; Emiliano Tria Tirona, *representative (Cavite), minority floor leader, member*; Gregorio Nieva, *representative (Tayabas), member*; Mariano Escudero, *representative (Bulacan), member*; Manuel Escudero, *representative (Sorsogon), member*; Pedro Aunario, *representative (Mountain Province), member*; Pablo Ocampo, *former Resident Commissioner from the Philippines to the United States (1907-1909), member*; Filemon Perez, *former representative (Tayabas), representing agricultural interests, member*; Jose Reyes, *former governor of Misamis, representing agricultural interests, member*; Delfin Mahinay, *former representative (Occidental Negros), representing agricultural interests, member*; Ceferrino de Leon, *former representative (Bulacan), representing agricultural interests, member*; Jorge Bocobo, *dean college of law, University of the Philippines, member*; Tomas Earnshaw, *representing industrial interests, member*; Pedro Gil, *representing industrial interests, member*; Mauro Prieto, *representing commercial interests, member*; Juan B. Alegre, *representing commercial interests, member*; Carlos Cuyugan, *representing commercial interests, member*; Marcos Rocas, *representing commercial interests, member*; Gregorio Singian, *physician and surgeon, member*; Gabriel La O, *lawyer, member*; Crisanto Evangelista, *labor representative, member*; Jaime C. de Veyra, *Resident Commissioner from the Philippines in the United States, member ex officio*; Teodoro R. Yangco, *Resident Commissioner from the Philippines in the United States, member ex officio*; Quintin Paredes, *attorney general of the Philippine Islands, technical adviser*; Conrado Benitez, *dean college of liberal arts, University of the Philippines, technical adviser*; Enrique Altavas, *chief of land registration office, technical adviser*; Camilo Osias, *assistant director of education, technical adviser*; Jose A. Santos, *assistant attorney general, technical adviser*; Jorge B. Vargas, *major, Philippine National Guard, aid*; Arsenio N. Luz, *editor El Ideal*; Francisco Varona, *associate editor El Debate*; Maximo M. Kalaw, *assistant professor, University of the Philippines, secretary*.

APPENDIX A.

Fourth Philippine Legislature, special session of 1919.

Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines, in joint session assembled, adopting a declaration of purposes for the guidance of the commission of independence.

Whereas the commission of independence has informed the Philippine Legislature that it is ready to receive from it instructions or declarations for its future guidance, in order to insure the best possible performance of the duties of the commission: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Philippines, in joint session assembled in the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento, That the following declaration of purposes be, and the same hereby is, adopted, to wit:

DECLARATION OF PURPOSES.

The Philippine question has reached such a stage that a full and final exchange of views between the United States of America and the Philippine Islands has become necessary. We need not repeat the declarations respecting the national aspirations of the Filipino people. Such declarations have been made from time to time in the most frank and solemn manner by the constitutional representatives of the Philippine nation and are a matter of permanent record in public documents covering more than a decade of persistent efforts, particularly during the last three years. America, on her part, has been sufficiently explicit in her purposes from the beginning of her occupation of the Philippines. It is true that the treaty of Paris, whereby the sovereignty formerly exercised by Spain passed to the United States, was negotiated and concluded without the intervention or consent of the Filipinos, and that the United States of America did not occupy the Philippine Archipelago upon a previous categorical declaration like that formulated and made public before the occupation of Cuba.* But, aside from certain differences in the details of both occupations which, not having been foreseen upon the declaration of war between the United States and Spain, subsequently gave rise to debate and differences of opinion regarding procedure, it is an incontrovertible fact that the definite purpose of the United States in both cases was the same: The disinterested liberation of the peoples subjugated by Spain. The American flag that waved over Cuba for lofty reasons of humanity and justice, scrupulously observed and respected after the victory, is the same flag which, when the war spread to this part of the globe, extended its protecting folds over another people anxious for justice and liberty. And that American flag could not stand for emancipation in Cuba and at the same time for forcible subjugation in the Philippines. The difference, if such ever existed, consisted only in matters of detail not in the affirmative and observance of the cardinal principles. In one case, owing to the proximity of Cuba to the American shores, the terms of the problem were known at the outset and provisions had been made for its solution. In the other, the lack of adequate information in the United States as to the true conditions of the Philippine problem, aggravated by long distance, momentarily obscured the question and naturally gave rise to a less determined and speedy procedure. Thus while Cuba became free and independent after scarcely four years of American occupation, the Philippines, which professed the same ideals as their sister of the Antilles, continue in a state of dependency after more than 20 years of such occupation.

In submitting the Philippine question to the Government and people of the United States, the commission of independence will find it unnecessary to refer to the natural acerbity of the situation or to the anxiety of our people which two decades of occupation have only served to accentuate. The steadfastness of our position is not due to mere sentiment but to the justice of our cause, sanctified by the laws of God and nature not only but admitted in the promises solemnly made by the United States and accepted by the Philippines. Although attention should respectfully be invited to the fact that the Filipino people have never renounced their independence, not even in the moments of the greatest adversity brought about by the enforced or voluntary submission of their own leaders, yet the commission of independence in dwelling upon the promises made will unreservedly and with the deepest gratitude recognize that they were made freely and generously to a small and powerless people after they had suffered defeat in the field of battle. The deliberate attitude of our country in reposing confidence in those promises and laboring peacefully in pursuance thereof must also be asserted. Thus, after the rupture of relations occasioned by three years of war, during which the right of the Filipinos to their independence was disputed, unsuccessfully so far as they were concerned,

violence gave way to harmony and hostility to cooperation; and thanks to the growing influence of the new conditions of peace, Americans and Filipinos who a short time ago fought each other and stained the Philippine soil with blood, undertook jointly together, on the basis of a friendly undertaking, a magnificent labor which has been carried on with the orderly progress of liberty and self-government.

The commission must not lose sight of the fact that the altruistic ideals and the wise and efficient aid of America in peace justly won for her our confidence and gratitude. Far from allowing a policy of selfish exploitation to direct the destinies of these islands, America proclaimed and insisted that the interest and welfare of the Philippines were to be considered a sacred trust confided to the people of the United States. Instead of the national spirit being stifled, it was announced from the outset that the natural development of self-government would be promoted. The total surrender of the government of the municipalities to popular control, the constant increase in the measure of self-government in the administration of the Provinces, and the growing participation of the people in the management of the central government and of national affairs; the plan of a general free elementary education conceived from the start; the establishment of the national assembly, with the subsequent addition of an elective senate, and, finally, the acceptance of the offers of adhesion and aid of the Philippines to the cause of America in the recent war, based on the principles of justice and self-government, liberty and security for small nations, as proclaimed by the Government of the United States, are fundamental facts of the policy of America in these islands which have appealed to the heart and brightened the hopes of the Filipino people. President Roosevelt, proudly contemplating, rather than the initial results of the work, the loftiness and purity of the principles enunciated, said with good reason that "No great civilized power has ever handled with such wisdom and disinterestedness the affairs of a people committed by the accident of war to its hands." "Save only our attitude towards Cuba," Mr. Roosevelt continued, "I question whether there is a brighter page in the annals of international dealing between the strong and the weak than the page which tells of our doings in the Philippines." (Jan. 27, 1908.) And subsequently he proclaimed in a message to Congress that "the Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government" and that he hoped and trusted that these steps would mark "the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation." (Dec. 8, 1908.) In the opinion of William H. Taft, who implanted our civil régime, the national policy with regard to the Philippines contemplated a gradual and constant extension of popular control, and making a logical deduction, he said, "When the Filipino people as a whole, show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it." (Jan. 23, 1908.) These statements of Mr. Taft, made while he was Secretary of War, were confirmed by him when, as President of the United States, he said in a message to Congress: "We should endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence." (Dec. 6, 1912.)

On March 4, 1913, there was a change in the administration of the United States, and the power passed from the Republicans to the Democrats. Seven months later Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, the new Governor General, communicated to the Filipino people the following message from President Wilson:

"We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next." (Oct. 6, 1913.)

On the occasion of the change in the Philippine Commission, which acted as the upper house of the legislature, the Filipinos were given an effective majority in both houses, and in accordance with the new policy, that in the administration of affairs in the Philippines America desired not her own counsel, but the counsel of the Filipinos, the Filipinization of the service was accelerated and other administrative measures were adopted to extend the popular control in the government. Finally, maintaining all the progress made and emphasizing the steps

toward independence, frankly announced by President Wilson, the Congress of the United States approved the new organic law for the Philippines of August 29, 1916, which formally promises the Filipinos their independence and grants them a more autonomous government. Thus the burden of the international responsibilities assumed by the United States by virtue of the treaty of Paris passed in effect to the hands of the Filipino people, and a pact was virtually consummated between America and the Philippines, analogous to that established between America and Cuba by the passage of the Teller resolution, which led to the war between America and Spain and publicly defined America's purpose at that time.

During this period of confident waiting, when our attitude was one of mere cooperation as well as when we assumed the new powers conferred by the Jones law, the commission of independence will find throughout the entire record of over 20 years positive facts demonstrating our full capacity for national independence and self-government. In the plan of a general free education and of sanitary improvements; in the vast public-works program with respect to roads and bridges, public buildings, and irrigation systems; in the fostering of agriculture, industry, and commerce, including the provision of banking facilities, port improvements, and an adequate system of transportation by land and sea; in the establishment of an efficient civil service and an independent judiciary; in the constant development of self-government in the local organizations and the central government and in the adoption of measures for the free and orderly exercise of the popular suffrage; in the exercise, in fine, of all the political powers entrusted to us no effort has been spared to promote the public good. Any unprejudiced critic will find after an impartial examination that we have successfully created a condition which demonstrates that the Filipino people, in managing their own affairs, can maintain law and order and afford equal protection to all, whether foreigners or nationals.

Despite the party struggles that precede the elections, particularly those that attended the first general election held on the occasion of the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, the work of that body and that of the present purely elective legislature which succeeded it show that there exists in these islands a strong and complete national unity which places general interests above petty local partisanship. In our budget system, successfully implanted since both houses became elective, no costly extravagance, local selfishness, or "log-rolling" and "pork-barrel" practices find any place. Our financial system and the appearance of cabinet members before the houses of the legislature have effected a coordination of forces and leadership which has promoted the efficiency of the administration and assured its responsibility to the people. The stability of the present Government, managed almost entirely by Filipinos, has been put to a test not only by the extension of its authority to all the remote districts of the islands inhabited by Mohammedans and other non-Christian Filipinos, where, as in the rest of the country, there now reigns perfect order maintained by civil officers, but also by the uninterrupted maintenance of a complete state of peace, order, and security during the recent war which devastated the fields of Europe and sowed the seed of restlessness and discontent throughout the world.

As an evidence of the appreciation of the high purposes and disinterested work of the Americans who have aided the Filipinos, all useful public institutions in existence at the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 have been preserved and perfected. Notwithstanding the policy of Filipinization implanted by President McKinley, no American employee in sympathy with this country and with the common work carried on has been retired from the service against his will and without an equitable compensation. It must be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to every American to know that the noble and humanitarian purposes expressed by President McKinley and his successors in their instructions, messages, and other official documents as the reason for American occupation has been successfully attained by the united and harmonious effort of Americans and Filipinos.

Now, in applying the principles enunciated in documents and utterances on the Philippines to the conditions now existing in the islands, the independence mission will find the following facts:

That there exist at present in the Philippine Islands the conditions of order and government which America has for nearly a century and a half required in all cases in which she has recognized the independence of a country or the establishment of a new government, not even excepting the case of the government of Gen. Huerta in Mexico, which she refused to recognize because it was stained with blood and established through intrigue, deceit, and crime.

That there exist likewise in the Philippines all the conditions of stability and guaranties for law and order that Cuba had to establish to the satisfaction of America in order to obtain her independence, or to preserve it, during the military occupation of 1898-1902 and during the intervention of 1906-1909, respectively.

That the "preparation for independence" and the "stable government" required by President Wilson and the Congress of the United States, respectively, contain no new requisite not included in any of the cases above cited.

That these prerequisites for Philippine independence are the same as those virtually or expressly established by the Republican administrations that preceded President Wilson's administration.

That during the entire time that the Filipino people have been with America they have been living in the confidence that the American occupation was only temporary, and that its final aim was not aggrandizement or conquest, but the peace, welfare, and liberty of the Filipino people.

That this faith in the promises of America was a cardinal factor, not only in the cooperation between Americans and Filipinos during the years of peace but also in the cooperation between Americans and Filipinos during the late war;

That the condition of thorough development of the internal affairs of the country and the present international atmosphere of justice, liberty, and security for all peoples are the most propitious for the fulfillment by America of her promises and for her redemption of the pledges she has made before the world.

In the light of these facts and considerations the Filipino people are confident that it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory final decision, as we deal no longer with a disputed question but are merely endeavoring to agree upon the final adjustment of a matter with regard to which, according to President Wilson's words, there exists, so far as fundamentals are concerned, "a perfect harmony of ideals and feelings" between the Governments of the United States and of the Philippine Islands, which harmony has brought about "that real friendship and mutual support which is the foundation of all sound political policy." (Nov. 29, 1918.)

Therefore, so far as it is humanly possible to judge and say, we can see only one aim for the commission of independence: Independence; and we can give only one instruction: To get it. Thus America, in adding another glory to her banner by establishing the first really democratic republic in the East, will apply a second time, generously and freely, the same measure of humanity and justice that she applied in the case of Cuba, which is but a logical and natural sequence of the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence. This declaration, which belongs to all humanity, has now as much force as it had in the days when America proclaimed it. America will thus vindicate the memory of President McKinley, to whom the "forcible annexation" of peoples meant "criminal aggression," and who upon taking over the Philippines "for high duty, in the interest of their inhabitants and for humanity and civilization," solemnly said: "Our sacrifices were with this high motive. We want to improve the condition of the inhabitants, securing them peace, liberty, and the pursuit of their highest good."

Thus finally America will carry out the efforts and assurances of President Wilson when, upon the signing of the armistice, he said to the Filipinos: "I hope and believe that the future holds brighter hope for the States which have heretofore been the prey of great powers and will realize for all the world the offers of justice and peace which have prompted the magnificent cooperation of the present war" (Nov. 29, 1918).

The Filipinos will thus have a better opportunity to demonstrate how deeply rooted is their gratitude for America when, after her voluntary withdrawal from these islands, we preserve here the immortal spirit of her democratic institutions and associate with her in her future enterprises of justice and peace in carrying to the darkest corners of the earth, which lack happiness because their people do not control their own destinies, the quickening flame of justice, democracy, and liberty.

APPENDIX B.

Instructions from the Commission of Independence to the Philippine Mission.

MANILA, P. I., March 17, 1919.

By authority of the Philippine Legislature, and acting under its instructions, the Commission of Independence has resolved that the following statement be sent to the Philippine Mission:

The Philippine Mission will please convey to the Government of the United States the frankest assurance of the good will, friendship, and gratitude of the Filipino people, and submit with as much respect as confidence the question of Philippine independence, with a view to its final settlement. The attention of the Government of the United States is respectfully invited to the summary of facts and propositions considered in the declaration of purposes approved by the Philippine Legislature on March 8, 1919.

It is singularly fortunate for the Philippine nation that there seems to be no controversy concerning either the pertinent principles or the capital facts of the matter. The Filipinos venture to believe that all that is necessary is a frank exchange of views in order to arrive in a prompt and satisfactory manner at a definite adjustment of details which will result in the complete and final execution of the plans outlined in accordance with the principles already established and agreed upon.

It is well known that these principles are so old that many of them, and one may even say all of them, already found faithful expression in the immortal days of 1776, when in the New World a people smaller and with less resources than the Filipino people entered upon the fearless undertaking of establishing a new government founded upon the proposition that its just powers were derived not from the will of monarchs but from the consent of the governed. It was not the first time that a people threw off the yoke of a foreign Government, but it was the first case in which a people dissatisfied with the political bonds which had connected them with their former sovereign, invoking the laws of God and nature, established the principles of liberty and justice not only for themselves but also for the other subject peoples of the world.

Having lived for over two decades side by side with the people of the United States, the Filipino people have become convinced that those principles are now as real and powerful as in the days when they were enunciated. Although it has not been possible to avoid certain isolated expressions made in apparent violation of those principles, yet it can not be denied that the only authorized declarations regarding the American policy in these islands have been specific and definite, and having been reiterated from time to time have led the Filipino people to believe, as they have with good reason believed, that the purposes of America were not of domination or self-aggrandizement, but of altruism, humanity, and liberty.

On the basis of this understanding the attitude of the Filipinos has been one of confident waiting. Busily engaged in the reconstruction that necessarily followed the war, as well as in the reaffirmation of their personality, the Filipino people have successfully exercised the political powers conferred upon them, first giving their loyal and peaceful cooperation, and subsequently assuming an almost complete control of their internal affairs. Their national record of over 20 years, from the first day of American occupation until the present, is an open book, and is now unhesitatingly submitted to the examination and criticism of the world.

Moreover, the triumph of democracy in the moral and political evolution of human institutions through the recent war has infused new life into the principles enunciated in 1776, and in fact has confirmed and ratified the promises of 1916. The Filipino people, seeing their own cause involved in the cause of the United States in that war, gave their support to the same. They not only placed all their modest energies and resources at the service of America, but in the spirit of a real and active community of ideals and interests they resolutely assumed the international responsibilities of that country in the Philippines. It will not be amiss to say now that during all that time of commotion and restlessness the public order was maintained here as perfectly as in the preceding years, and the American flag continued to float undisturbed, not because it was supported by a military force, of which there was hardly any, but because of the loyal and vigilant allegiance of the Filipinos.

Now that the war is over and the world is engaged in the application of the principles that have come out triumphant from it; now that the

Filipino people have met the tests to which their capacity has been submitted, can it be deemed inopportune or ill-advised for them to submit the pending question to the United States or to any other competent tribunal of the world for its final adjustment? The problem being so varied in its aspects, the Filipino people will welcome an opportunity to discuss the terms of the concession of independence and the scope of the covenants necessary for the guaranty, safety, and stability of the new State and for the establishment and maintenance of such external relations, especially with America, as may be equitable and beneficial and as the circumstances may demand. In this respect they are guided by the spirit of the steps previously taken with the Government of the United States, especially by reason of the mutual understanding and benefit that were taken into account when the independence bill of 1914 was drafted. Inasmuch as the situation of the international affairs has been altered by the irresistible force of the principles consecrated by the recent war, it is evident that the plan contained in that bill can not be carried into effect without certain suitable revisions. One of them is that, inasmuch as the Filipino people believe in the efficacy of a general concert of responsible powers established for the common cause of justice and the preservation of the peace of the world, they would be ready to agree to any arrangement by which the Philippines would be enabled to participate in the concert as soon as possible.

The Filipino people would not be just to themselves if at this moment, when their political separation from the sovereign country is being urged, they should fail to express in the clearest and most definite manner the sentiments and purposes that inspire their action. They therefore deem it their duty to affirm: That independence, instead of destroying or weakening, will strengthen the bonds of friendship and appreciation arising from the gratitude of the Filipino people not only for the final measure of complete justice and humanity that they confidently expect, but for all the previous disinterested work so splendidly performed for the benefit of the Philippines by so many faithful sons and daughters of America; that this gratitude will be the fundamental factor in the future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands; that in the present state of the international affairs the Filipino people merely aspire to become another conscious and direct instrument for the progress of liberty and civilization; that in the tranquil course of their years of constitutional development they will maintain for all people inhabiting their hospitable land the essence and benefit of democratic institutions; that they will continue to associate, in so far as this will be acceptable and their strength will permit, in the work of reconstruction, justice, and peace carried on by the United States in continuation of those other undertakings, the high purpose of which was the cause, according to President Wilson, "of the magnificent cooperation during the war" between the American and Filipino peoples; and, finally, that in thus preserving their best traditions and institutions in the new situation which will strengthen and perfect them, the Filipino people will continue to make this country, as heretofore, a place of law and order, justice and liberty, where Americans and foreigners, as well as nationals, may live peacefully in the pursuit of happiness and prosperity and safe in the enjoyment of their property as well as of their rights and their liberty.

SERGIO OSMENA,
Speaker House of Representatives.
 ESPIRIDION GUANCO,
Acting President Philippine Senate.

